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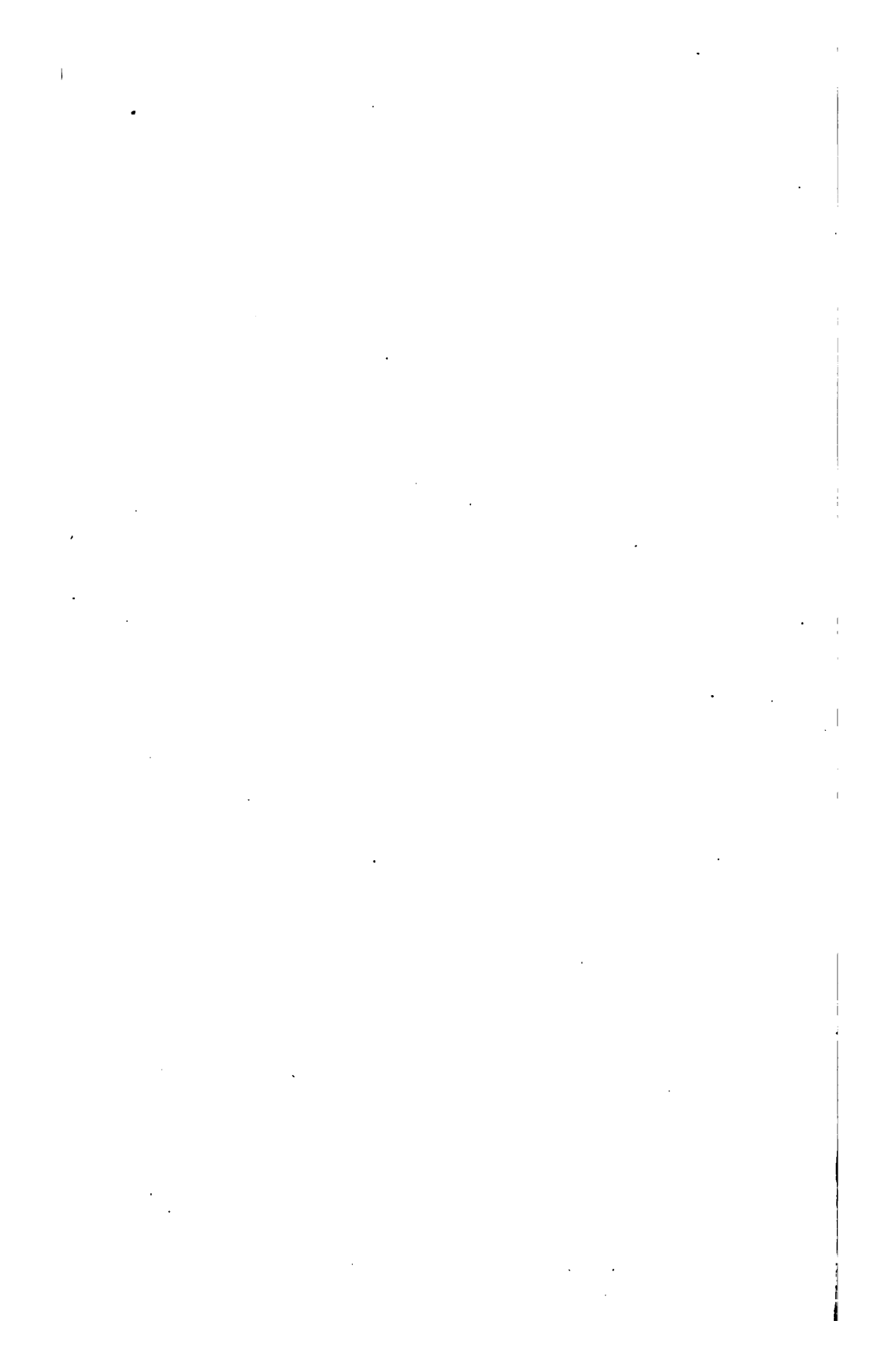
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2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1853







121.

GROUNDS  
 FOR  
 LAYING BEFORE THE COUNCIL  
 OF  
 KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON,  
 CERTAIN STATEMENTS

**CONTAINED IN A RECENT PUBLICATION,**

**ENTITLED,**

**"THEOLOGICAL ESSAYS, BY THE REV. F. D. MAURICE, M.A.,  
PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY IN KING'S COLLEGE."**

**BY**

R. W. JELF, D.D.,

**PRINCIPAL OF THE COLLEGE, AND CANGN OF CHRIST CHURCH.**

**SECOND EDITION.**

OXFORD AND LONDON:  
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## P R E F A C E.

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IN compliance with Mr. Maurice's special demand, I give publicity to the grounds for the most painful step of my life. In doing this, as an act of justice to all parties concerned, I desire not to add one word which can cause unnecessary pain, or continue a discussion, into which, with the utmost reluctance, and in the conscientious discharge of a plain official duty, I felt myself compelled to enter.

Quite consistently with this resolution to decline farther controversy, some foot-notes have been added, since the decision of the Council, in order to obviate any misapprehension of my own meaning. The notes are carefully distinguished (by being placed between brackets, and by the date *Oct. 31*) from the text of the "Correspondence," which is published *verbatim*, as it was sent to Professor Maurice, and as it was laid before the Council.

The "Correspondence" from No. I. to No. VIII. will explain itself. No. IX., the final letter, was intended *primarily* as a private communication, set up in type for the convenience of both correspondents, to serve a double purpose; 1st, that of stating clearly the nature and grounds of the objections entertained by me to the Professor's concluding "Essay," and 2nd, that of eliciting, either as far as possible in the course of the argument, or else at the close of the letter, such an explanation or disavowal of the tenets imputed by me to the "Essay," as might satisfy me that ulterior proceedings would not be required. Failing this



satisfaction, the letter, identically the same, was designed *secondarily* to serve as the basis of an official communication to the Council respecting statements in the "Essay," which by that time, and in the case supposed, I could not but believe to be dangerous and unsound.

In order that the Professor might have as early information as possible, not only of the substantive charges (which had been already indicated in my first letter of July 8, No. I.), but also of the course my argument was taking, I sent him the earlier portions of the final letter (as well as the whole preliminary correspondence), as fast as they were printed, many of the proofs being still in *slips*, and with even the errors of the press uncorrected. In doing this as an act of courtesy, I took care to reserve to myself in express terms the right of making whatever alterations might seem to me desirable, previously to the *completion* of my task. The last of these portions was sent in this way on Sept. 10, when a temporary absence from England interrupted my labours. Enough, however, had been already sent to place fully before Mr. Maurice the nature of my complaint, as well as the analysis of the "Essay," which I had undertaken. The remainder of the letter was not seen by Mr. Maurice till Oct. 4 (the earliest possible time at which the *slips* could be returned from the press), and the official dispatch of it in its final shape was not completed before Oct. 12. Mr. Maurice however was repeatedly assured that the time allowed him for his defence would be regulated by his own convenience. On Oct. 7 I received an intimation from Professor Maurice that he did not ask for delay, but deprecated it, that the sooner the cause passed into other hands, the better he should be pleased. A special summons for the meeting of the Council on the 14th was forthwith issued, and the printed "Correspondence" was sent to the several members, together with a circular from myself, calling attention

to the "Theological Essays," and characterizing certain statements in one of them as in my opinion dangerous and unsound. From that time the matter passed entirely out of my hands.

Mr. Maurice's printed "Answer to the Principal's final Letter" reached me on Oct. 13, and the next day copies of it were in the hands of the Council. This document will, of course, in accordance with the understanding between us, be published by Mr. Maurice himself. All I desire is that it may be fairly judged; and that it may be compared *point by point* with the Letter which it professes to answer.

It is almost superfluous to observe, that however disproportionate a space is allotted to such topics in the "Answer," I make but few comments on any points immaterial to the real and main issue,—and none whatever on any remarks relating to myself personally, or to the principles upon which I govern the College.

R. W. J.

*King's College, London,*  
*Nov. 4, 1853.*



CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE PRINCIPAL OF  
KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON, AND THE REV. PRO-  
FESSOR MAURICE.

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No. I.

*Ch. Ch. Oxford, July 8, 1853.*

MY DEAR PROFESSOR MAURICE,

My attention has been called by high authority to the conclusion of the last of your Theological Essays lately published.

It is alleged that you therein deny the eternity of future punishments.

I have read the Essay with attention, and confess that it appears to me to bear that interpretation; at least the impression it gives seems to throw an atmosphere of doubt on the simple meaning of the word *eternal*, and to convey a general notion of ultimate salvation for all.

I am of course most anxious to ascertain your real meaning.

Yours very truly,

R. W. JELF.

THE REV. PROFESSOR MAURICE.

No. II.

*21, Queen Square, Bloomsbury, July 9, 1853.*

MY DEAR MR. PRINCIPAL,

IN the Essay to which you refer I have said distinctly, that I believe in the doctrine of eternal punishment, or death, in that sense which seems to me most consistent with the other uses of the word "eternal" in the New Testament. I have said also, that I do not believe in the doctrine in that sense which is given to it, or seems to be given

to it, in many popular discourses and theological treatises; that I repudiate that sense as inconsistent with the Gospel of Christ, with the distinction between time and eternity, in which all Christians in some way acquiesce, with the spirit of our formularies, with our Lord's own definition of eternal life. I have said further, that I accept heartily all our formularies, the three Creeds, the Prayer-book, the Thirty-nine Articles; though I have made it sufficiently clear, that if I were called upon to interpret any of those formularies according to certain popular notions, which I think they are meant to correct and resist, I should count it a sin to comply with the demand. I do not know that I can add anything to these statements, for which I am responsible to God and man. I recollect that I wrote a letter to a friend (two or three years ago), who consulted me on the subject. If I can recover that letter I will send it to you, not from any fancy that it will mitigate the objections which any may entertain to my published expressions, but because I would not willingly keep back any evidence from you, and because explanations written after complaints have been made are never satisfactory, and look like evasions. Evasion in my case would be particularly dishonourable, because the final Essay in my book is connected with the principle which I have maintained through the whole of it. If I may not assert a distinction between time and eternity, the whole mystery of Godliness, as I have endeavoured to set it forth, in opposition to the Locke Materialism of one class of Unitarians, and the Emersonian Spiritualism of another, vanishes into air: I cannot say that things earthly are fleeting and things heavenly substantial: I do not know what earth or heaven, shadow or substance, would mean. To state my convictions on this subject was a duty which I felt that I owed to thousands of young Englishmen, whose faith in the redemption of Christ, even in the being of God, is at stake. I could not but tell them, because I believe it is true, that the statements, which have led them to identify the God and Father of our Lord with the evil spirit, are not derived from the orthodox faith; that they are a strange product of Calvinism and Locke philosophy, and of the morbid consciousnesses

of individuals; that the orthodox faith is the deliverance from them. I knew that in taking this course I must offend some whom I had offended already, that I might offend some from whom I have received only kindness. I consulted none of my friends about the book, lest they should either be suspected of concurring in the opinions of it, or lest they should persuade me to suppress what I was bound to utter.

Believe me,

My dear Mr. Principal,

Very truly yours,

F. D. MAURICE.

[The following letter from Mr. Maurice to a private friend, alluded to in the foregoing, is inserted in this place at Mr. Maurice's request.]

### No. III.

21, *Queen Square, Bloomsbury*, Nov. 23, 1849.

MY DEAR SIR,

PERHAPS I shall best shew my interest in the subject which is occupying your mind, and my gratitude for your confidence, if I tell you something of the processes of thought through which I have myself passed while endeavouring to arrive at the truth.

I was brought up in the belief of universal restitution, I was taught that the idea of eternal punishment could not consist with the goodness and mercy of God. When I came to think and feel for myself I began to suspect these determinations. It did not seem to me that the views I had learnt respecting sin accorded with my experience of it or with the facts which I saw in the world. I had a certain revolting, partly of intellect and partly of conscience, against what struck me as a feeble notion of the divine perfections, one which represented *good nature* as the highest of them. Nor could I acquiesce in the unfair distortions of the text of Scripture by which, as I thought, they justified their con-

clusions; for I had always learnt to reverence the Scriptures, not to set them aside. I did not see how *αἰώνιος* could mean one thing when it was joined with *κόλασις*, and another when it was joined with *ζωή*.

I do not mean that these were very deep, vital *convictions*; they were honest *opinions* as far as they went, though mixed with much intellectual pride. I despised the Universalist and Unitarian theories as weak; I do not know that I found anything at all better.

When I began in earnest to seek God for myself, the feeling that I needed a deliverer from an overwhelming weight of selfishness was the predominant one in my mind. Then I found it more and more impossible to trust in any being who did not hate selfishness, and who did not desire to raise his creatures out of it. Such a Being was altogether different from the mere image of good nature I had seen among Universalists. He was also very different from the mere Sovereign whom I heard of amongst Calvinists, and who it seemed to me was worshipped by a great portion of the religious world. But I thought He was just that Being who was exhibited in the cross of Jesus Christ. If I might believe His words, 'He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father;' if in His death the whole wisdom and power of God did shine forth, there was One to whom I might fly from the demon of self, there was one who could break his bonds asunder. This was and is the ground of my faith. The more I have thought and felt, the more has the Scripture met my thoughts and feelings, by exhibiting God to me in Christ reconciling the world to Himself; the more have I been sure that I was meant to trust this Being absolutely, universally, that my sin was *not* trusting Him. The certainty of One absolute in goodness whom I could call Father, has more and more obliged me to believe in a Son, to believe Him, as the Church believes Him, to be consubstantial with the Father; the more have I recognised the impossibility of a perfect all-comprehending unity, or of any living fellowship between me and my fellow men, or of any practical faith in myself unless I confessed a Spirit proceeding from the Father and the Son, distinct from them, perfectly one with them.

I can say, I did not receive this of man, neither was I taught it. Every glimpse I have of it has come to me through great confusion and darkness. With it has come the belief that God has redeemed *mankind*, that He has chosen a family to be witnesses of that redemption, that we who are baptized into that family must claim for ourselves the title of sons of God, must witness to others that they have a claim to it as well as we.

You may think I am going a long way round to get at your question ; but really I know no other road. The *starting point* of the Gospel, as I read it, is the absolute Love of God, the *reward* of the Gospel is the knowledge of that Love. It is brought near to us by the Gospel, so the Apostles speak ; the kingdom of God is revealed to men, they are declared to be inheritors of it. The condemnation is declared to be choosing darkness rather than light, hating Christ and the Father. A rebel state of will, at war with God, is the highest, completest misery ; so far I think all go, in words at least. All will admit that damnation is in some sense a loss of God's presence, that the curse lies in the rejection of love, separation from love, abandonment to self. All admit that God has sent His Son to save us from this perdition ; from every other as included in this or the consequent of it.

St. John repeating our Lord's most awful prayer takes me a step further. "This," he says, "is *eternal life*, that they may know Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent." At first we shrink from the strict meaning of these words. We suppose they do not mean that eternal life *is* the knowledge of God, but only that those who obtain that knowledge or that life will retain it through eternity. But when I ask myself, Do I then know what *eternity* is ? Do I mean by eternity a certain very, very long time ?, I am shocked and startled at once by my want of faith and want of reason. Our Lord has been training us by His beautiful blessed teaching to see eternity as something altogether out of time, to connect it with Him who is, and was, and is to come. He has been teaching me, that I have a spirit which cannot rest in time, which must strive after the living, the permanent, the eternal, after God Himself. He



has been telling me that He has come to bring me into this state, that He is the way to it. How dare I then depart from His own definition? How dare I impute my own low meaning of 'eternal' to Him, and read myself into His words, when He is raising me to another meaning infinitely more accordant with the witness of my conscience, not involving the contradictions which my own does?

Now believing from my heart that the words in the twenty-fifth of St. Matthew are quite as much our Lord's words as those in the seventeenth of St. John, I am bound by reverence to Him—and if not by that, even by ordinary philological honesty—to apply to the former the meaning which I have learnt from the latter, this being the strictest I can get. I am bound to apply that meaning to both cases in which the word is used, getting rid of the difference which our translators have (not honestly, or with great carelessness) introduced between 'everlasting' and 'eternal.' I am bound to believe that the eternal life into which the righteous go is that knowledge of God which *is* eternal life; I am bound to suppose that the eternal punishment into which those on the left hand go, is the loss of that eternal life—what is elsewhere called 'eternal death.'

Now if you ask me on the strength of this passage, or of any similar one, to dogmatize on the *duration* of future punishment, I feel obliged to say, "I cannot do so, I find *there* at least nothing on the subject. I cannot apply the idea of time to the word eternal. I feel that I cannot. Every body feels it. What do the continual experiments to heap hundreds of thousands of years upon hundreds of thousands of years, and then the confession, "after all we are no nearer to eternity," mean, if not this? Do they not shew that we are not even on the way to the idea of eternity? Might we not just as well have stopped at the hundredth year or the first? But this trifling becomes very serious and shocking, if there is a great and awful idea of eternity which our Lord would teach us, which belongs to our inmost selves, and which we are flying from by these efforts to get it into another region. For the idea of enjoying God or being without God, we unawares substitute that Mahometan felicity or

Mahometan torment which you speak of, and the whole of Christianity becomes depraved in consequence."

But do I then dogmatize on the other side? Do I fall back on the theory of Universal Restitution, which in my early days I found so unsatisfactory? No, I find it cold and unsatisfactory still. I cannot speak of God punishing for a number of years and then ceasing to punish, or of the wicked expiating their crimes by a certain amount of penalties. The idea of a rebel will is, to those who know in themselves what it is, far too awful for such arrangements as these. A man who feels what sin means, who feels it as the contradiction to God's nature, the perfectly holy, and blessed, and loving nature, cannot find any comfort in the thought of God leaving men alone, or hold out such a prospect as a comfort to his fellows. He feels that God is altogether Love, Light with no darkness at all. But then that which is without God, that which loves darkness, that which resists love, must not it be miserable? And can it not fix itself in misery? Has it not a power of defying that which seeks to subdue it? I know in myself that it has. I know that we may struggle with the Light, that we may choose death. But I know also, that Love does overcome this rebellion. I know that I am bound to believe, that its power is greater than every other. I am sure that Christ's death proves that death, hell, hatred, are not so strong as their opposites. How can I reconcile these contradictory discoveries? I cannot reconcile them. I know no theory which can. But I can trust in Him, who has reconciled the world to Himself. I can leave all in His hands. I dare not fix any limits to the power of His love. I cannot tell what are the limits to the power of a rebel will. I know that no man can be blessed, except his will is in accordance with God's will. I know it must be by an action on the will that love triumphs. Though I have no faith in man's theory of Universal Restitution, I am taught to expect "a restitution of all things, which God who cannot lie has promised since the world began." I am obliged to believe that we are living in a restored order. I am sure that restored order will be carried out by the full triumph of God's loving will. How that

should take place while any rebellious will remains in the universe I cannot tell, though it is not for me to say that it is impossible. I do not want to say it. I wish to trust God absolutely, and not to trust in any conclusion of my own understanding at all.

My duty then I feel is this, 1st. To assert that which I know, that which God has revealed, His absolute universal love in all possible ways, and without any limitation. 2nd. To tell myself and all men, that to know this love and to be moulded by it is *the* blessing we are to seek. 3rd. To say that this is eternal life. 4th. To say that the want of it is eternal death. 5th. To say that if they believe in the Son of God they have eternal life. 6th. To say that if they have not the Son of God they have not life. 7th. *Not* to say who has not the Son of God, because I do not know. 8th. *Not* to say how long any one may remain in eternal death, because I do not know. 9th. *Not* to say that all will necessarily be raised out of eternal death, because I do not know. 10th. *Not* to judge any before the time, or to judge other men at all, because Christ has said "Judge not, that ye be not judged." 11th. *Not* to play with Scripture by quoting passages which have not the slightest connexion with the subject, such as, "Where the tree falleth it shall lie." 12th. *Not* to invent a scheme of purgatory, and so take upon myself the office of the Divine Judge. 13th. *Not* to deny God a right of using punishments at any time or any where for the reformation of His creatures. 14th. *Not* to contradict Christ's words, "these shall be beaten with few, these with many stripes," for the sake of maintaining a theory of the equality of sins. 15th. *Not* to think any punishment of God's so great as His saying "Let them alone."

These rules I have laid down for myself, and have tried to act upon them, how imperfectly God knows. One remark I would wish to make further on this point. You speak of the Liturgy and the Athanasian Creed, as if they laid upon us some new burden; but they merely adopt the language of Scripture respecting eternal punishment. Whatever meaning you give it in the New Testament, that you must give it in our Services; and I am very sure that in this case, as in

others, they are instruments of deliverance from the corruptions and materialism of the popular theology. They do lead us to feel practically, that the knowledge of God is eternal life, and the loss of God eternal death. If we use them faithfully, we shall be educated out of the carnal into the Christian idea of eternity. Do you not find that it is so with bedridden women and humble peasants? They know inwardly that Christ does not mean millions of billions of years of enjoyment by eternal life. They are not good at numeration. But they worship "the Father of an infinite majesty, His honourable true and only Son, and the Holy Ghost the Comforter." Thus they find His promise made good to them, and they are not afraid of its ever ceasing to be made good to them.

(The rest of the letter was on a different subject.)

#### No. IV.

*Ch. Ch. July 14, 1853.*

MY DEAR PROFESSOR MAURICE,

I AM much obliged to you for allowing me to read the very important, and (whatever else one may think of it) very interesting letter to your friend. I should be acting in a spirit very different from yours, if I were to say that I am satisfied of the justness and safety of your views, for I must own they fill me with the most intense alarm. It is not that I am, or ever have been, in the number of those who go through the process of multiplication alluded to in p. 436 of the *Essays*, or condemn all those who have "not heard" to eternal perdition (p. 440). I thought every one, now-a-days, was contented to leave them to God's uncovenanted mercy. But surely, without talking of billions of years, which mode of talking *does* introduce the notion of "time," i. e. "succession of periods of duration," into the notion of eternity, there is nothing wrong in thinking of eternity as *duration*, *absolute duration*; and surely the nearest approach that can be made to the word "eternal," as applicable to created beings, is to think of it as "never ending." Whatever else

it may include, it surely includes this when we speak of eternal life (ζωὴν αἰώνιον), and if so, by your own reasoning on St. Matt. xxv. 46, it must include this, when we speak of κόλασιν αἰώνιον. Nor can I say that I am more convinced by your reasoning (Essays, p. 437) on the words of our Lord in St. John xvii. 3, "This is life eternal, that they might know Thee the only true God and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent." That this is eternal life in such a sense as to be the inseparable portion, the ground and the pervading element of all the joys of paradise, I of course do not doubt; but to say that the passage excludes all other acts and kinds of enjoyment (of course I do not mean sensual or Mahometan enjoyments) seems to me much more than is warranted by Scripture, and is at all events more than we know with such certainty as can warrant our building an argument upon it, as you do. It is not certain that the *only* enjoyment of eternal life will be the knowledge of God and Christ, (I myself think there are many indications in the Scriptures to the contrary, but I put it in the form to meet your argument): therefore it is not certain that eternal death is only the absence of that saving knowledge; and so far is this certainty from being warranted in Scripture, that you have several very awful descriptions of torment—"worm," "fire," πῦρ αἰώνιον, "prepared for the devil and his angels."

However, far be it from me to enter now or hereafter into a controversial argument with you on so awful a subject, on which, as far as attempting to fathom the mystery, it seems to me the less said the better. We must preach the Scriptural truth as a fact. All I am concerned with is the probable effect of such teaching on your relations, as a Theological Professor, to King's college. I do not mean simply the effects on the character and success of the Theological department, but I mean its effects upon our Theological pupils, and through them upon the congregations whom they will have to teach. Your positions, if established at all, must rest upon very abstract assumptions, or at the best upon very abstract reasonings, such as (to judge from those to whom I have shewn your Essays) even highly gifted, and cultivated, and theologically educated minds find the utmost

difficulty in grappling with. What effect are they likely to have, I will not say only on our own half-trained students, but on ignorant country congregations? What will be the practical and very comfortable belief, but that (for all the Scriptures say to the contrary) hell will be a long purgatory; a kind of purgatory which differs from that of Rome in being more comprehensive and universal in its application; a place, not as the Romanists say, for the imperfectly good, but for the wicked, impenitent defier, or denier of God and Christ, for Voltaire and Judas, no less than, as they would say, for Fénelon and Pascal? And yet this is the inference which suggests itself to the reader of pp. 439—442, and which is left, as far as I can see, without the least attempt to guard against its admissibility. And what appears to me worst of all is, that this view is in your eyes of such vital importance, that “there is a woe on us if we do not preach this Gospel.” p. 443.

In order to complete my list of “first impressions,” let me add, that the ground of duty which has led you to state your conviction on this subject (“that you owed it to thousands of young Englishmen whose faith in the redemption of Christ, even the being of God, is at stake”) makes it more certain that you will take every opportunity of inculcating, both in college and out of college, what appears to me most dangerous teaching. Of course if you have quite made up your mind that you are right, and that the notion of never-ending punishment is unscriptural and wrong, you will be guided by your own conscience as to the propriety of your proclaiming your convictions. But in the meantime, what are they to do, who are not satisfied with your reasonings, and therefore see nothing but danger in what appears to them “accommodation” to error, and who think the view a counterpart of the Origenian heresy?

I shall not attempt to answer this question, till I have read your whole book, nor probably till I shall have obtained in my private capacity the opinion of clerical friends, both in and out of the Council. I shall probably draw up a statement of my impressions, which, with the exception of one or two private friends, I shall not circulate till I have submitted

it to you, and then I will put in circulation my statement and your remarks\*. I will return your long letter as soon as I have read it once or twice again at intervals.

I remain, with sincere regard,

Yours very truly,

R. W. JELF.

P.S. Throughout the foregoing letter I have argued on the supposition that I did not do you injustice, or draw a wrong inference as to your views, in saying in my opening letter of the 8th, not only that your Essay "seems to throw an atmosphere of doubt on the simple meaning of the word 'eternal,' but that it seems to convey a general notion of ultimate salvation for all."

In your answer of July 9 you do not dispute the correctness of this last impression. I presume therefore, that I have represented your meaning on that point correctly.

No. V.

*Clyro Vicarage, Hay, South Wales, July 19, 1853.*

MY DEAR MR. PRINCIPAL,

I BEG to thank you for your kind and frank letter. The course you have marked out for yourself in determining what my position in reference to the college shall be hereafter, is most fair, and entirely satisfactory to me. I do not write for the purpose of inducing you to alter that course in the least degree, but to remove some misapprehensions, for which probably I have myself to blame.

I did not "correct the impression" you had formed, that it was my wish "to convey a general notion of ultimate

\* [This method of proceeding was abandoned because, as the Council could not meet during the vacation, the clerical members would not have been authorized to take cognizance of the statement. Oct. 31.]

salvation for all," because I thought that my words to a private correspondent, which could not be devised to meet a particular case, and were intended for no eye but his, would correct it more effectually. It might be supposed that in my book more was meant than met the ear; that I had a secret theory of universal restitution, which I did not consider it prudent to divulge. But I told him distinctly, that I had no such theory, and did not feel the least tempted to adopt any; that I could not see my way to dogmatize on the subject, and that it would give me no comfort if I could. I know from the express words of Scripture, that God "will have all men to be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth," for, though Baur and his rationalistic school may cast the Epistles to Timothy out of the Bible, I have been wont with the rest of my countrymen to account them St. Paul's, inspired by the Spirit of God. I know also that the will of man has an awful power of resisting this will of God. How far that power may go, I dare not ask myself. It is an abyss into which I cannot look. I must believe that in some way the will of God will triumph, how, I know not. I do not ask to know. I cast all upon the love of God. I try to trust that love, as manifested in Christ; I tell others to trust it. I say to them and to myself, that not to trust in it, or to trust in ourselves, is perdition. I think that is all that any can say, who are sent with a Gospel to mankind, a Gospel of deliverance from sin.

But, when I am asked to dogmatize on the other side, to say that there is some place, or time, or mode in which the resistance of man to God shall be effectual, and when the resources of His converting grace shall be exhausted, I dare not. The articles of my Church do not make that demand upon me. I am told that the Bible does. I ask, where? and I am pointed to sentences about eternal punishment and eternal death. I try to find out what these words mean, not by reasoning of my own, for my reason breaks down in the effort to apprehend them; but by the express words of our Lord, uttered in the solemnest manner in the most awful prayer. Then I am met with the complaint, that there is a simple, natural, admitted meaning of the word



"eternal" which every one understands, and which I am trying to get rid of. I ask for that simple, natural, admitted meaning, and I find it full of the strangest complexities and incoherences; one which cannot be set before simple people, without the most extraordinary devices to make it intelligible; devices which utterly fail, by the admission of those who resort to them. I find, when I turn to such a book as "Augustine's Confessions" that the idea of eternity as "infinite time," so far from satisfying his mind, was one from which he was obliged to emancipate himself before he could throw off his Manichean heresy and rest in God. I find that, in order to adopt it, I must set aside the grand distinction of St. Paul, (which must affect the whole meaning of Christianity and of our spiritual life,) between the things that are seen and temporal, and the things that are not seen and eternal. I find that the loss of this distinction is connected with a philosophy, which rejects all belief in spiritual substance, in any mystery not measurable by the understanding, ultimately by the senses. Jortin and all that school in the last century laughed to scorn St. Augustine's idea of eternity, precisely because they laughed to scorn every mystery; Athanasius was in their eyes a ridiculous, vulgar fanatic.

It is not, then, mainly for its bearing on the question of punishment, that I reject the popular (if that can be called popular which has certainly no hold whatever on the mind of the people) notion of eternity. If you will do me the honour to look at the other Essays in my book, you will see that I am far more disturbed by the effects which that notion produces on our theology and on our preaching generally. It seems to me that we do not treat the Gospel as a Gospel of God, a declaration of Him to men, as revealed in His Son; but as the declaration of certain consequences, which are to flow from certain notions and acts of ours. And in describing these consequences I have observed, that though we use very strong language in one sentence, we explain it away in the next; though we talk as if an infinite punishment must follow an infinite evil, we afterwards reduce both the punishment and the evil to such vagueness, that the hearer becomes indifferent to either. My desire—I call God to witness—is

not to make our people think evil less horrible, less hideous, but to make them see that a state of evil now and hereafter must be a state of misery, a state of damnation; and that the state of salvation is the state of righteousness, the state of union with God; that there can be no other. I do not make light of any sufferings bodily and external; I believe they are all the consequences of sin, and the punishments of it, here and elsewhere. But the eternal punishment seems to me the loss of God, as the eternal blessedness is the enjoyment of Him.

You will perceive from this statement, I hope, why I do feel and have long felt everything to be involved in the presenting to men the knowledge of God in Christ as eternal life, and yet, why I have very rarely indeed alluded to the differences which exist between me and some of my brethren on the subject of eternal death. I believe I should have done harm if I had dwelt on that subject. I should not only have conveyed a false impression of my own views, which is comparatively of little importance; I should have misrepresented the truth which I most care to assert. I do not want to make men doubt of eternal death, I want to make them see the awful reality of it, which I think they do not see, and cannot see, through the ordinary disguises. It has not been therefore upon any calculation that I have abstained from touching upon this subject when I have been among my Theological pupils at King's College. If I had thought I should have done them good by speaking upon it, I hope I should not have been silent, and should have told you why I could not be silent; but I felt no wish to moot the subject, unless persons agitated and driven to infidelity laid their doubts about it before me. To those who did I could say, "Believing eternity to have a much deeper and more awful signification than that which is given to it in modern popular Divinity, I am not obliged to put that sense upon it in reference to punishment or death, which makes it incompatible with the revelation of God's love to mankind in Christ." The discovery, how many were in anguish from thinking that the one must be abandoned if the other must be believed, was my motive in writing the concluding passage.

In it as in all that precedes I have appealed to the Articles, the Creeds, and the Bible, as protectors against the notions which have attached themselves to the truth they proclaim, in the minds of our religious public, and are, it seems to me, rapidly destroying the tree of which they are the outgrowths. Having this conviction, I was more bound as a Theological Teacher to proclaim it than another person could be. But I know the risk. I cannot expect the Council to think as I do about the danger to which we are exposed, and about the remedy. If they reject me as their teacher, I shall not have the slightest cause to complain. All I wish to be understood is, that I have asked for no changes in our formularies, for no relaxations, for no fresh interpretations. I accept heartily that to which I have subscribed. I only pray it may not be encumbered with modern additions, that the forms, which have kept us alive through a great many vicissitudes of popular feeling, may not be contracted to suit one particular view of it. I know that Dissenters, weary of private judgment, that Scotch Calvinists, heavily bowed with the yoke of the Westminster Confession, are turning with many doubts and misgivings, but still with hope and longing, to our forms as witnesses of a Gospel to mankind, which they feel themselves hindered from preaching. What I desire for them is, that they may not find the Church of England only a new Evangelical Alliance, which substitutes for the belief in the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, a belief in everlasting punishment as the bond of Christian union. I have but one more word to say, which refers wholly to the past, not to the future. You seem to think that I must be tempted to teach Theological students to be "abstract" in their theology, and "abstract" especially in their preaching. On this point I would respectfully ask you to question all who have ever listened to my lectures. I think they will tell you, that if there is one point on which I have spoken to them more earnestly, more continually than another, it is on the duty and possibility of avoiding abstractions, and of setting the faith of the Creed plainly, personally, directly, before the poorest of their people. I have had many opportunities of putting this subject in various lights, while we have been

reading Pearson. I have never consciously avoided one. I was eleven years Chaplain of a hospital, speaking to hardly any but its inmates. Those who heard me then, and who have read any of the Sermons I published while there, will testify, I think, that however I may have failed in other respects, I did try not to be abstract, and to a certain extent succeeded. I do not say this, as if it could have the least effect on your decision, or wishing it to have; but in justice to myself and to my inward belief, that I am not contending for an abstraction, but on behalf of realities against abstractions.

Believe me, dear Mr. Principal,

Very truly yours,

F. D. MAURICE.

No. VI.

Ch. Ch. July 26, 1853.

MY DEAR PROFESSOR MAURICE,

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 19th. I wish I could say that it had removed my impressions. Like the private letter to your friend, and like your letter to me of the 9th, it seems to me to say, "the *mode* I do not pretend to discover, but the *fact* I am sure of, that God's will that all men shall be saved will somehow finally triumph\*."

\* [Nothing could be farther from my intention than to misrepresent Mr. Maurice's meaning. It is evident, that I must have mistaken it: for he says (Answer, p. 16), "This sentence is curiously wide of the truth, as nearly as possible the reverse of it," &c. Yet, if he will turn to the very letter which I was answering, his letter of July 19 (*supra*, p. 13. l. 11), he will find the following passage, sufficient to *account* for my impression (and it was that passage which I had specially in view); viz. "I know from the express words of Scripture, that God '*will have all men to be saved*, and come to the knowledge of the truth,' ... I know also that the will of man has an awful power of resisting *this will of God*. How far that power may go, I dare not ask myself. It is an abyss into which I cannot look. I must believe that *in some way* the *will of God* will triumph, *how* I know not. I do not ask to know." (Oct. 31.)]

My object in writing however now is not at present to go farther into the subject itself, but first to ask a question, and secondly to offer an explanation on a collateral issue.

1. I suppose I may presume that your letters to me are intended to be official ones, and that therefore I am at liberty to make use of them, and to lay them before the clerical members of the Council, and, if need be, before the Council itself. Am I right in thinking so?

2. Permit me to point out a misapprehension of my words, into which you have fallen in your last letter.

You say, "You seem to think that I must be tempted to teach theological students to be abstract in their theology," &c.

Now if you will look back to my letter of the 14th, you will see that my meaning is directly the reverse of this. It is because our "half trained" theological students are *not* accustomed, either in your lectures, or in any others given in the college, to abstract reasonings, that I dread the effects of your volume of "Essays," the positions in which, "if established at all, must rest upon very abstract assumptions, or, at the best, on very abstract reasonings, such as" &c. (see the letter, p. 10); it is because they will read *your* Essays without understanding them, and will take *your* positions *on trust* on the ground that they are *yours*; it is because of the very excellence of your *college teaching*, that still greater danger is (in their case compared with others) to be apprehended from the publication of the Essays. It is only an instance of what I have had to remark more than once, that the teaching of a theological professor is not confined to his lecture room.

I have thought it as well to say thus much, in order that you may know the real ground of my alarm.

I remain yours very truly,

R. W. JELF.

THE REV. PROFESSOR MAURICE.

## No. VII.

*Hay, S. Wales, July 27, 1853.*

MY DEAR MR. PRINCIPAL,

I FULLY understood that my letters, though addressed to you, might be shewn to the different members of the Council, and the Council collectively, or to any persons whom you wished to consult. I did not write them with any view to their being made public, but without the least unwillingness that they should be so if you thought it desirable.

I ought perhaps to add, lest there should be any mistake about the character of my teaching in the college, that though I have never broached any opinions on the subject of punishment and its duration, I have continually and almost unceasingly assumed that idea of eternity to be the true one, from which, if I understand you rightly, you think that the suggestions I have made respecting punishment naturally follow. For instance, in speaking of the doctrine of Arius, I have again and again explained to my pupils that his errors arose from his mixing time with relations which had nothing to do with time. I have tried to shew them, that the doctrine of the eternal generation of the Son, instead of being a subtlety of the schools, lay beneath the practical faith of the humblest Christians. They might never, I said, express it to themselves in terms, but it was implied in their acts of worship; the Arian tenet, if carried out and acted upon, would make it impossible for them to feel that there was a perfect Mediator between them and the eternal Father, in whom they had eternal life. So I have taught hitherto, and I certainly would never engage to teach otherwise hereafter.

Believe me, dear Mr. Principal,

Very truly yours,

F. D. MAURICE.

ON the 6th of August I wrote a letter (of which I kept no copy) to Mr. Maurice, requesting his permission to alter a

few words in my letter of the 14th of July, in a sentence which had nothing to do with the argument, but which might have given an erroneous impression on another point: (this he kindly acquiesced in). I added a request that he would inform me where I could find the articles issued by the Evangelical Alliance, as that might be a clue to my understanding what he meant respecting what he calls the popular error about eternity.

R. W. J.

To this request I received the following answer:

No. VIII.

*Hay, S. Wales, August 12, 1853.*

MY DEAR MR. PRINCIPAL,

I WAS so desirous to save a post, and to answer at once the more pressing question in your note, that I did not allude yesterday to what you said respecting the Evangelical Alliance, and the advantage it might be to you to know the precise words which they had used, and to which I objected. Now I am bound to own, that I have, (and had when I wrote my book), as much forgotten their words as you have, and that no part of the complaint I made against the Alliance turned upon the particular shape which its dogmatical statement on the subject of eternal punishments assumed. I maintained that we of the Church of England are not held by our formularies to *any* dogmatical statement on this subject; that no definition of the words *eternal punishment* is contained in our articles; that one having been attempted in the first draft of the forty-two articles, it was deliberately omitted when they were reduced to thirty-nine. I solemnly protested against the imposition of any fresh interpretation or definition, whether in the sense of those who affirm, or those who deny the perpetuity of punishment. I could imagine no interpretation or definition which would not involve the greatest possible peril to the Gospel, and to the deeper mysteries of theology. I say "to the Gospel," because if we are prevented from declaring that the will of God is that all men should be saved, and should come to the know-

ledge of the truth, and that the sacrifice of Christ has been made for all mankind, and that God's Spirit can overcome man's obstinacy, I do not see what Gospel we have to preach. I say "to the mysteries of theology," because, as I contended in my last letter but one, if once notions of time are mixed with the idea of eternity, all Arianism rushes in, and you cannot stop it. I might have quoted numerous facts from the history of the dissenters, to shew that men particularly strong in this tenet have repudiated the doctrine of the eternal generation of the Son, evidently because they could not reconcile it with their conception of eternity.

I therefore pledged myself implicitly in my Essays, I pledge myself explicitly now, that I will not, God being my helper, give up my liberty as a member of the Church of England by accepting any *new* formulary on this subject, or *new* explanation of the formularies which I have accepted. To these I adhere, in what I believe to be their literal natural sense. According to them, as far as God enables me, I will preach and teach: to them I fly for protection from the decrees and maxims of religious coteries and newspapers, to which if the authorities of the Church of England submit, I believe they will sink as low as Leo X. and the Church of Rome did, when they endorsed the vulgarities and blasphemies of Tetzels, and when they compelled those who revered them most to proclaim them anti-christian and apostate.

Believe me, my dear Mr. Principal,

Very truly yours,

F. D. MAURICE.

No. IX.

*Ch. Ch. Sept. 1853.*

MY DEAR PROFESSOR MAURICE,

OUR correspondence thus far has served to prepare the way for a more full and formal discussion of the subject in hand; it has helped me in some degree to interpret your



printed statements, and to feel sure that in affixing certain senses to the words which you have used, I had done you no injustice. Aided therefore by the light which your letters throw upon your concluding Essay, I now beg leave to lay before you, more in detail than I have hitherto done, the nature and ground of my objections to the view which you have expressed and inculcated in that Essay (pp. 432—449), on the subject of the final salvation of all men.

In selecting this particular Essay for examination, as that which was first brought under my notice, I would by no means be understood to acquiesce in several startling passages on other subjects in the same volume. I purpose however to pass them by at present, believing that the part first inculcated requires undivided attention.

Before I proceed, however, let me assure you that I am defending no theories, and have no theory to defend; that I wish for no new articles, nor any new interpretation of our formularies; that I own no allegiance to "the decrees and maxims of religious coteries and newspapers," but that I am contending for the simple and plain meaning of God's word against *all* theories, from whatever quarter they may come.

The order in which I propose to treat the subject is suggested by the following extract from my opening letter, dated July 8:

"It is alleged that you therein deny the eternity of future punishments. I have read the Essay with attention, and confess that it appears to me to bear that interpretation, at least the impression it gives seems to throw an atmosphere of doubt on the simple meaning of the word 'eternal,' and to convey a general notion of ultimate salvation for all." (Letter of July 8, *supra* p. 1.)

To these words, in the fullest extent of their meaning, I now, after more than two months' reflection, and after repeated perusals both of the Essay and of your letters, deliberately adhere, only remarking that the terms used in that my first letter are far too mild to express my present sense of the extent to which you have committed yourself to the error.

I must endeavour therefore, as shortly as I can, to make good these two assertions, the one involving the meaning of the word "eternal," and the other the punishment of wicked, unbelieving, impenitent sinners.

1. Now of course a definition of "eternity" is a contradiction in terms. The mind which can understand the nature of eternity, analyze its elements, and grasp its contents, must be an infinite mind. And yet in this, as in so many other cases, man may be enabled by God to appreciate some portion of the mystery, such a portion for instance, as He may be pleased to make conducive to the practical use of the religious life. The "witness of our *reason*" may or may not be thought trustworthy, when it tells us, or if it tells us (as you assert it does), that "eternity is not a lengthening out or continuation of time," that they are generically different, (Essays, p. 423.) But it is enough for us to know upon higher warrant than our *reason*, that things seen will come to an end, that things unseen shall continue without end, that being the plain meaning of St. Paul's words, 2 Cor. iv. 18. Without forming any distinct ideas upon the nature of eternity itself, which is essentially mysterious, the common sense of mankind attaches the meaning of duration to the word "eternal." They simply understand that the eternal God is everliving, that God's throne is "for ever and ever:" and therefore they conceive that the word "eternal" which is so applied to God, means, when applied to the happiness or misery of the world to come, that either of those states will be for ever and ever, world without end; and this is, and always has been, the simple faith of Christians in general, leaving all questions of days and years and millenniums to those who are accustomed to abstract speculations. This simple faith is of inestimable value to their lives, inasmuch as they know that the consequences of their actions, good or bad, may last for ever.

Now what do you substitute for this vital truth? You begin by attempting to deprive the word "eternal" of the only meaning which simple folks have been from generation to generation wont to attach to it; you tell us (p. 436) that

the notion of "duration" must be carefully excluded from the word "eternal," because "our Lord has deliberately so excluded it;" "and yet" you say (ibid.) "we are in the habit of introducing the notion of duration into the word eternal;" and then, by way of explaining your meaning, you describe a multiplication sum (by which you think some men attempt to approximate to the notion of eternity) the factors of which sum are periods of time.

Upon this permit me to observe first, that you appear in this instance to confound "duration" with "periods or fixed portions or measures of duration;" so that, however the instance may illustrate the absurdity of the attempt to approximate by means of "measures of duration" (i. e. time) to the notion of "eternity," (which is after all what is intended by those who "give us that sum to work out,") it is not relevant to the present question. Mankind in general would say, and Scripture would bear them out in saying, that whatever else is included in the term "eternal," as applicable to created beings\*, the notion of "duration" is of its essence, i. e. *never-ending duration*, which has nothing to do with "measures of duration." And the term which would be naturally employed to express this duration is the very term which you appear anxious to exclude, viz. "everlasting." I believe that this confusion between "duration" and "measures of duration" is the fallacy which lies at the root of your argument.

But you assure us (p. 436) that our Lord "has deliberately excluded the notion of duration from the word eternal." Without cavilling at the word "deliberately," which seems hardly a fitting word in such a context, I would ask: Where has our Lord excluded the notion of duration from the word

\* [Mr. Maurice will perceive that I carefully distinguish between the word "eternal" as it relates to the "being" of creatures communicated to them by God, and the same word when applied to God Himself. This passage, as well as others, (such as *infra* p. 42. l. 5). will shew him also, that I am not one who supposes our Lord to have used "eternal," even in reference to the life of created beings, "as describing *merely* the infinite ages, during which the life is to last." (Answer, p. 12). In p. 23 I have moreover disclaimed the possibility of "forming any distinct ideas upon the nature of eternity itself, which is essentially mysterious." (Oct. 31.)]

"eternal?" As you have given no reference, all that I can gather from your words, approaching to an answer to my question, is the further assertion, that "our Lord has taken pains to keep the thought of things temporal distinct from that of things eternal." But, supposing we were to admit that our Lord has taken such pains, what sort of logic is it (forgive my asking) to substitute in the conclusion the term "duration" in place of the term "things *temporal*," which was used in the premiss? What sort of a syllogism is this?

Our Lord has distinguished things eternal from *things temporal* (i. e. eternity from time):

Therefore we must distinguish things eternal from *duration*.

To say that "time" is the only kind of "duration," or that the terms are logically convertible terms, is to assume the very question in dispute.

Till some other Scriptural proof, then, is offered for the assertion that "our Lord has excluded the notion of duration from the word eternal," we must surely adhere to the meaning which the common sense of mankind attaches to the word "eternal," taking as its nearest equivalent (without presuming to think that it does not include much more) the word "everlasting." This use of the word seems to me totally distinct from St. Augustine's stumbling-block, "infinite time," inasmuch as, while "infinite time," (i. e. infinite *periods or measures of duration*,) involves a self-contradiction, there is, so far as I can see, no contradiction whatever in the phrase "infinite duration." I for one am satisfied with this "simple, natural, admitted meaning" of the word eternal, which, before I read the Essay and your first two letters, I thought every one understood. I do not see that it is (as you tell me in your letter of July 19) "a meaning full of the strongest complexities and incoherences," or a meaning "which cannot be set before simple people without the most extraordinary devices to make it intelligible." Amongst other devices, I, for my part, do not recognise any necessity for the "multiplication sum" (p. 436); I should call that a device, to make one feel how *unintelligible*, beyond the notion of infinite duration, the mystery of eternity is to the limited faculties of creatures; and I cannot help thinking, that when

employed at all, it must be for the purpose which one has in view, when rightly or wrongly one endeavours to give a child a similar illustration of "boundless space;" one wishes to impress on the child's mind a notion of its own limited faculties.

Let me in passing remark, that so far am I from disputing your right to "assert a distinction between time and eternity," as you seem to think I do (see your letters of July 9, and Aug. 12), that I admit that there is a distinction as fully as you can do. What I contend against is, first, your unprecedented attempt, as unwarranted by reason as it is by Scripture, to exclude the notion of duration from eternity, and secondly, your building upon that fallacy a doctrine which I believe to be a revival of the heresy of Origen in one of its phases.

I have thus far been following the only clue which you appear to furnish to what you conceive to be the New Testament use of the word "eternal." But the original Scripture itself will provide us with a very large induction\* of the particular uses of the word itself; yet this satisfactory method of investigation you have apparently left without notice, although (in your letter to me of July 9th) you speak of "the other uses of the word 'eternal' in the New Testament," and in your Essay you say that it is a key-word of the New Testament, (p. 436).

The word *αἰώνιος* occurs no less than *seventy-one* times in the Greek Testament. It may be useful and interesting to analyze its uses.

Of these *seventy-one* passages, *three* (viz., Rom. xvi. 26,

\* [It seems to me that Mr. Maurice has not sufficiently observed the two-fold design of this induction. It was designed partly to discriminate the various *subjects* to which the predicate *αἰώνιος* is applied in Scripture, and partly to ascertain the mind of our Church on the sense of the word *αἰώνιος* in St. Matt. xxv. 46. It shews, at least, that the sense which Mr. Maurice condemns as popular, modern, and novel, and for which he blames the translators of *King James's reign* (1604—13) (Answer, p. 6), has been current in this country for nearly five hundred years, ever since Wicliff's time. The same sense was continued by Tindall, adopted in the Bishop's Bible, and perpetuated by *King James's* translators. (*Oct.* 31.)]

"everlasting God;" 1 Tim. vi. 16, "power everlasting;" Hebr. ix. 14, "eternal Spirit") are applied either to God Himself, or to His eternal power; *three* refer to eternity *a parte ante*—*χρόνοις αἰώνιους* or *πρὸ χρόνων αἰώνων*, (viz., Rom. xvi. 25; 2 Tim. i. 9; Tit. i. 2;) *one* to "things invisible," (referring to the context, "eternal weight of glory,") 2 Cor. iv. 18; *one* to Christ's "covenant," Hebr. xiii. 20; *one* to the "Gospel," Rev. xiv. 6; *one* to ultimate reunion with an individual fellow-Christian (Onesimus), Philem. ver. 15.

The remaining *sixty-one* passages refer either *to the future state of the blessed*, or *to the future state of the damned*. But the preponderance of use is, as might have been expected in a religion of mercy, very much on the side of the state of the blessed; i. e. *fifty-four* passages against *seven*.

Out of *seven* passages relating to *the future state of the wicked*, the word *αἰώνιος* is translated,

In *four* passages "everlasting," viz., St. Matt. xviii. 8; xxv. 41, 46; 2 Thess. i. 9:

In *three* "eternal," viz., St. Mark iii. 29; Hebr. vi. 2; Jude verse 7.

Out of *fifty-four* places relating to *the† future state of the blessed*, the word *αἰώνιος* is translated,

In *seventeen* places "everlasting," viz., St. Matth. xix. 29; St. Luke xvi. 9; xviii. 30; St. John iii. 16, 36†; iv. 14; v. 24†; vi. 27, 40†, 47; xii. 50; Acts xiii. 46; Rom. vi. 22; Gal. vi. 8; 2 Thess. ii. 16†; 1 Tim. i. 16; 2 Peter i. 11:

† [These passages, viz. St. John iii. 36; v. 24; vi. 40, 54; 2 Thess. ii. 16; 1 St. John iii. 15; v. 11, 13; (and perhaps also St. John x. 28; 1 Tim. vi. 12), relate to the *future state* of the blessed *already begun upon earth*; and as such they were *designedly* included under this head-

In *thirty-seven* places "eternal," viz., St. Matth. xix. 16; xxv. 46: St. Mark x. 17, 30: St. Luke x. 25; xviii. 18: St. John iii. 15; iv. 36; v. 39; vi. 54†, 68; x. 28†; xii. 25; xvii. 2, 3: Acts xiii. 48: Rom. ii. 7; v. 21; vi. 23: 2 Cor. iv. 17; v. 1: 1 Tim. vi. 12†, 19: 2 Tim. ii. 10: Tit. i. 2; iii. 7: Hebr. v. 9; ix. 12, 15: 1 Pet. v. 10: 1 John i. 2\*; ii. 25; iii. 15†; v. 11†, 13†, 20\*: Jude verse 21.

This is a general account of the use of this "key-word" in the New Testament, and I have been induced to draw it up systematically, partly for the more complete satisfaction of my own mind, and partly to contrast it with your view of the meaning of the word. You reject the popular notion of eternity, (without any clear explanation of what you understand by that "popular notion,") on two grounds, (see your letter of July 19th, p. 14,) 1st. because of its bearing on the question of punishments, 2ndly (and still more), on account of

ing, as the place to which they *really* (though not perhaps at the first superficial glance) belong. As instances I would quote St. John v. 24, "He that heareth My word, and believeth on Him that sent Me, *hath* everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation; but *is passed* from death unto life:" and St. John vi. 54, "Whoso eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood, *hath* eternal life; and I *will* raise him up at the last day." I own it did not occur to me, that any Divine would misapprehend, or overlook this interpretation, least of all did I expect that my correspondent would do so (see the Answer, p. 11.) Had I foreseen it, nothing would have been easier than (at the cost of unnecessarily multiplying subdivisions) to have made a new heading, *ex. gr.* "Passages relating to the *future state* of the blessed, *begun on earth*;" or else (still better) to have enlarged the present one thus: "the *incipient and complete future state* of the blessed." (*Oct.* 31.)]

† [See the preceding note †.]

• [These two passages, viz. 1 John i. 2; and v. 20, would appear to belong more properly to those which "are applied to God Himself;" and should therefore be transferred and added to the *three* in p. 26. l. 27.

Of one of these passages, 1 John v. 20, I have already in p. 41. l. 27, given the correct interpretation.

With respect to the other, 1 John i. 2, I perceive how *inadequate* is the notion I have conveyed of its full meaning by classifying it *here*; and I thankfully embrace a far deeper meaning, in reference to the Person of the Word "made flesh." Mr. Maurice himself does not seem to have observed the real and full import of the words. (See Answer, p. 11.) (*Oct.* 31.)]

the "effects which that notion produces on our Theology and our preaching generally." I shall have occasion shortly to speak of the first of these grounds, viz., its bearing on the question of punishments. With respect to the other more general imputation against the popular notion of eternity, though I confess I do not understand it, I can only offer the general use of the word, as deducible from the above analysis. I affirm therefore, that our translators have repeatedly included "the notion of duration" in the adjective *αἰώνιος* by the use of the Saxon word "everlasting;" and that both in these cases, and in cases where the word, of Latin derivation, "eternal," is substituted, there are at least fifty-seven passages where the sense of "duration" was required by the subject matter, as relating either to God Himself and His glory, or to the happiness of the blessed, which, whatever else it includes, will be admitted by all Christians to include everlasting duration.

ii. The second point which I assert in my letter of July 8th is that the Essay appears "to convey a general notion of ultimate salvation for all."

According to my present view on the whole evidence I should speak much more decidedly. The Essay and your letters together, I do not hesitate to affirm, unquestionably hold out the hope that the punishment of wicked, unbelieving, and impenitent sinners may, after all, not be everlasting. This hope is set forth with more or less distinctness in more than one part of these writings. I should say also, that you appear to look upon it as a special part of your mission to inculcate it whenever circumstances may seem to require it.

This my present more distinct and unhesitating conclusion I must now endeavour to substantiate by commenting upon various extracts from your Essay, taken in connection with the correspondence. Several of your statements are so obscurely worded that, although their general import on the first cursory perusal raised the most serious misgivings, I indulged the hope that farther explanation might clear them



up. This hope has been disappointed. But still this source of difficulty must be kept in view. I have honestly endeavoured to understand you. If I have failed, something must be attributed to the peculiarity of your language, which, though often distinguished for its eloquence and force, can hardly be called remarkable for perspicuity.

It may be expedient, however, before I enter into details, to premise one general observation. The question between us I understand to relate, not to virtuous heathen, nor to the frightful list of neglected human beings which you have given at the top of p. 440, not to any, in short, who "having not the law, are a law unto themselves: which shew the work of the law written in their hearts," fearing God and working righteousness. *That* is a subject I conceive which, due regard being had to the indisputable truth of Art. xviii., may be left open to some difference of opinion: nor can it be considered a tendency in modern times to err on the side of severity, it being, I think, usual with thoughtful persons to abstain from pronouncing an opinion, but to refer such cases to the uncovenanted mercies of God. But the point in debate between us is the ultimate salvation of those who (out of "all nations"), whether originally Christians or heathens, but especially Christians, shall have been from any cause adjudged to have done wickedly, and shall have thereupon undergone that sentence, "Depart from Me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels." You will see, then, my motive for adding the words above, "wicked, unbelieving, impenitent sinners." It was with the same motive, though not so clearly expressed, that I alluded to Judas and Voltaire, by way of illustration, in my letter of July 14, p. 11\*. You have hitherto taken no notice of what my words there implied. I would now earnestly request your attention to this distinction as above explained.

I shall now adduce the passages which appear to bear upon the question, doing my best, where feasible, to classify

\* [The passage referred to, compared with this, will shew my only motive for this allusion; viz. a desire to ascertain the *real question in debate*. (Oct. 31.)]

them under distinct heads, and interspersing such comments as may serve to elucidate and support the truth of the received, or as you would call it, the popular doctrine.

1. The first group of passages has more or less reference to St. Matthew xxv. 46, "These" (who have not relieved our Lord in the least of His brethren) "shall go into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal."

Essays, p. 432. "I have spoken of eternal *life*. What is eternal *death*? Dare we think of it? Must we not try, in some way, to evade the consideration of it,—to explain away the words of Scripture, which suggest it to us?"

There seems to me to be considerable awkwardness in the way in which you have put this question about explaining away Scripture. There can be no doubt that you yourself would repudiate all thoughts of consciously or intentionally explaining away Scripture; indeed you tell us later (p. 434) that you believe with the Evangelical Alliance, that "we must take the words of Scripture literally," that we cannot evade the question. And yet in p. 433, immediately following the above extract, you go on without any expression of disapproval, nay rather with something like acquiescence, to speak of others besides Unitarians who are tempted to do so. You speak of "a number of the most wise, devout, excellent men living now, or that have lived in our own Church and among the dissenters, who have shrunk from them," that is, from these words of Scripture; of "multitudes of the upper classes who are scared into infidelity by these words of Scripture," and "of the plausible and effective arguments against Christianity which these words of Scripture furnish to those who lecture among the middle classes;" and again, "of earnest and devout persons asking how they can reconcile these words of Scripture with that Gospel of God's love, which they must hold fast whatever else they part with."

Now it must be remembered that according to your own repeated declaration, it is precisely to meet cases such as these that your own solution of the difficulty is put forward in this Essay; a solution which does in reality, apparently without your perceiving it, explain away the words of Scrip-

ture, by introducing a new and arbitrary interpretation of the meaning of the scriptural word "eternal."

After this preliminary question about explaining away Scripture, we come to your view respecting the passage of Scripture which, though by no means the only one, has always been considered as the palmary evidence for the everlasting duration of hell-torments: St. Matthew xxv. 46. This passage especially you think ought not to be evaded or explained away. "On plain grounds of philological honesty," p. 435, l. 1. ("as well as on theological grounds," as you add five lines lower down), you have always protested against the distinction "attempted by Universalists between the word *eternal* when it is applied to life, and when it is applied to death or to punishment:" and the protest is most just. You most unjustly stigmatize our translators for the "apparent encouragement they have given to" this distinction "by using the two words 'eternal' and 'everlasting' in the twenty-fifth chapter of St. Matthew." But the protest itself is incontrovertibly just; and if you had stopped there, we might have been satisfied that you meant to defend the orthodox faith. But unhappily in explaining your *theological* grounds for rejecting the aforesaid attempted distinction, the principle of your solution of the difficulty becomes apparent. "But I felt the *theological* objection to this course" (i. e. to this distinction) "quite as serious as the other" (i. e. as the ground of philological honesty). "Instead of thinking that I *gained* something for humanity or for Christianity, if I got rid of the word 'eternal' in either case" (that is, as I understand it, as applied either to life or death), "I should feel the loss quite unspeakable." This too *sounds* most satisfactory. I confess, I read the passage over and over again without being able to discover how you could reconcile this apparently satisfactory statement with the hope (which both in your Essay and in your letters you avow without defining), that one lost in hell may be ultimately saved. But on a closer inspection of the whole context, I perceived that, when expressing your own view, you never use the words "everlasting death or punishment." You use, it is true, the phrase once, in connexion with the views of the Evangelical Alliance

which you condemn. But further, you have left no room for doubt as to your meaning, for in the opening of your letter of July 9 you plainly intimate, that in one sense you accept the notion of eternal death, in another you reject it. Now we know, that you reject all notion of duration in the word "eternal," and you think the only key to its meaning is the passage in St. John xvii. 3 (Essay, pp. 437, 438). So that I am driven irresistibly to the conclusion, that the sense in which you reject eternal death is that of "everlasting death:" and thus in that sentence, which has so satisfactory a sound, the error I complain of is implied. Consistently with your views you could not, I think, have expressed that sentence thus (as at a cursory glance one might have supposed), "Instead of thinking that I gained something for humanity or Christianity if I got rid (in St. Matt. xxv. 46) of the word 'everlasting' in either case, I should feel the loss quite unspeakable." And again, while you would not, as it seems, have been "ashamed of our translators," if they had used the word "eternal" as applied indifferently to "punishment" and to "life," you would to all appearance have objected to their translating the passage thus: "And these shall go into *everlasting* punishment, but the righteous into life *everlasting*." The fault you really find with our translators is their having introduced the word "everlasting" at all.

In this view of your meaning, the different parts of your solution certainly hang together, but every trace of orthodoxy disappears. The apparent admissions of the truth are only so many premisses to the erroneous conclusion.

But surely the controversy really turns not upon the English words alone, but upon the Greek word *αἰώνιος*. For the uses of this word in the Greek Testament I must refer to the general arguments, and to the induction of particular passages, which I offered in the first part of this letter, *supra* p. 26. Aided by the result of that preliminary enquiry, I shall presently state, as shortly as possible, the argument from St. Matt. xxv. 46, for the everlasting duration of hell torments.

But I must here say a few words on what I must call the unwarrantable attack which you have made upon our translators in relation to this verse. The analysis above alluded

to will serve to shew, how utterly undeserved the imputation is, either of dishonesty or of carelessness. But first, what theological motive could our translators have for such dishonesty? Unless it were the view of Origen, condemned universally\* in the Church, the men who first gave that version knew nothing of any view which could exclude duration from the word "eternal;" the Church from the beginning had believed that the punishment of the wicked would be endless; and the word 'eternal' was in their day synonymous with 'everlasting.' It is impossible to compare those seventy-one passages together in Greek and in English without perceiving that the words "eternal" and "everlasting" are used by our translators interchangeably, indifferently, one at one time and another at another, with reference to the same substantives, whether expressive of God's own name, or the joys of heaven, or the pains of hell. The same usage is observable also in all the formularies of our Church. In Art. i. the Latin word *æternus* is translated "everlasting:" in the Athanasian Creed it is translated "eternal" when applied to the blessed Trinity, "everlasting" as applied to "life" and "fire." The word "everlasting" is repeatedly found in the *Te Deum*, the Litany, throughout the Prayer-book, in the Catechism, as applicable to the persons of the ever-blessed Trinity, to life and glory, to God's kingdom, to damnation, and death. In the Service for the burial of the dead, it is true, we have the phrase "eternal and everlasting glory," a form equivalent to "erred and strayed," words by no means necessarily implying in our Prayer-book any contrast, but rather synonymous words; and that is the only Service in which the phrase "eternal death" occurs. The fact appears to be, that the word "eternal" was of comparatively late introduction into our language, and that our translators, following the example of Tindall, who began the change more sparingly, *substituted* the new word "eternal," wherever it now occurs in our

\* [On consideration, I think that this assertion is too sweeping; and if so, I willingly withdraw the qualifying adverb, without substituting another. The fact and the nature of Origen's error are too notorious, to make extracts from his works necessary. If not, Mr. Maurice's own quotations would suffice. But the *more* or the *less* of Origen's error, its

English Bible, for "everlasting," which was with one exception the only version of the word *αἰώνιος* in Wickliff's translation. You may of course find fault with the English language for its want of philosophical accuracy in not affixing that meaning to the word "eternal" which you yourself think the right one\*; you may find fault with it for not having the word "eternal" in its vocabulary at all before a certain period; but you have no right to throw the slightest shade of suspicion on the good faith or carefulness of those, who translated *aeternus* or *αἰώνιος* by the word "everlasting" in its natural and received sense. You may call this received sense the "popular" sense, for so it most truly is, but you have no right to call it "modern" or "novel," for it is as old as the language itself. As to the occasional variations and the introduction of the word "eternal," it is probable that our translators were guided not only by the laws of rhythm†, but by that far-sighted wisdom which is so often observable

different phases, and the *extent* of his condemnation in the Church, and the question whether the Anabaptists of the 16th century *revived*, or *re-invented* the error of Origen, are not the questions at issue in Mr. Maurice's case. The editor of the Augsburg Confession, 1540, a mild and moderate man, seems to have looked upon it as a *revival*; for in that edition the very same error is attributed *in terminis* to the *Origenists*, which the Augsburg Confession of 1530 had charged against the *Anabaptists*. See this fact stated, *infra* p. 56. (*Oct.* 31.)]

\* [Mr. Maurice speaks (p. 6) very confidently as to the comparative value of "eternal," and "everlasting." He pronounces "everlasting" to be the "inferior word" "rescued from its *vulgar signification*" by its being used interchangeably with "eternal"! It seems singular, by the way, that the sense of "a permanent fixed state," (which Mr. Maurice, a few lines before, claims for *Ætas*, and its derivative, as he considers it, *Æternus*), should *not* belong to the same word when used in reference to future punishment. There may be possibly some mode of escaping from this seeming contradiction, which to ordinary minds is inexplicable. (*Oct.* 31.)]

† [Mr. Maurice is sure that "the translators would have repudiated" this plea "with indignation;" and yet writers of some note have been disposed to recognize such a law of rhythm, or something analogous to it, in the original inspired writers. Not that we need suppose either the sacred writers or their translators to have been *consciously* actuated by a recognized law. It would be rather a minor instance of that comprehensive quality, "a right judgment *in all things*." (*Oct.* 31.)]

in their version, as well as in the Book of Common Prayer; that of familiarizing the people with the words, whether of Latin or of Saxon derivation, which go to make up our composite language.

Setting aside then what you must permit me to call this groundless cavil, we are left to the full force of the argument derived from St. Matth. xxv. 46. It lies in a small compass, and is very simple, but is not therefore the less convincing. Whatever our blessed Lord predicates of life, He predicates, without the slightest distinction, of punishment likewise: but that He speaks of the life\* of the blessed as never-ending†, relatively to the ever-living† Being who shall be their portion for ever, particularly when the application of the same term, *αἰώνιος*†, to God Himself is remembered, no one but the most reckless heretic or infidel would deny: therefore our blessed Lord speaks also of the punishment of the reprobate as

\* [Of course I do not mean as a possession in fee, but as God's gift by promise; Rom. vi. 23. (*Oct. 31*).]

† [If Mr. Maurice will examine this passage again, he will find that it is carefully worded. He will see also that there is positively no foundation whatever for his saying that I speak of God as "the endless Being," or that I think it "right and reverent" to say so. (*Answer*, p. 9). Equally groundless is the assertion that I think it "wrong to speak of Him otherwise," (*ibid.*) The wording of the sentence in the text implies the very reverse of all this; and certainly it never entered my mind to use such words as those quoted for mine.

The main proposition in the above sentence amounts to this; The life of the blessed, spoken of by our blessed Lord in St. Matt. xxv. 46, is without all question never ending, (of course not as a possession in fee, but as God's gift by promise,)—a proposition, as I thought, self-evident and indisputable amongst Christians.

As subsidiary to this proposition I have introduced parenthetically the germs of two other propositions: the first, the fact that the blessed shall "ever be with the Lord," (1 The.s. iv. 17,) the "ever-living" God: the second, that the same word *αἰώνιος* (not "endless" or "never-ending," but "Everlasting"), in its proper sense as to a part of the ineffable mystery, is applied to God by Scripture, as is applied by Scripture (in a sense infinitely subordinate) to the life of created beings, "the gift of God through Jesus Christ." These two propositions, if established, confirm the main proposition.

Mr. Maurice's observations 'in pp. 8 and 9, "*Answer*") respecting the Magians, Heathenism and Arianism, appear quite irrelevant in this case. (*Oct. 31*.)]

never-ending. And this never-ending state of wretchedness He had just before described as "everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels," (verse 41,)—a fearful association between the wicked, unrepentant, and "cursed" sinners, banished from Christ, and "the angels which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, and whom He hath reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgment of the great day: even as Sodom and Gomorrha and the cities about them in like manner giving themselves over to fornication, and going after strange flesh, are set forth for an example, suffering the vengeance of eternal fire," (Jude ver. 6, 7;)—an association, which, unless we are prepared to admit the supplemental tenet of Origen (who was at least consistent in his error), viz., "that Satan himself shall be ultimately saved," is awfully conclusive as to the endless torments of the damned. Again, the same word "fire" occurs (with the same adjective as in St. Jude) in St. Matt. xviii. 8. Further, in St. Mark iii. 29, the phrase used by our Lord is "everlasting damnation," denounced as the penalty of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, the sin described on a former occasion in the same Gospel, St. Matt. xii. 32, as that which "shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come." In like manner St. Paul (2 Thess. i. 7—9,) ". . . the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with His mighty angels in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. Who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of His power." And it is with passages such as these before us, thus mutually corroborative, and any one of which would be sufficient to decide the point, that you would teach, as an essential tenet of the Gospel, a tenet which Christ's Gospel reveals, "that there is an abyss of love below the abyss of death" (Essays p. 442), and that we may safely doubt whether there may not be some new state of probation in the world to come; whether the resources of God's converting grace will be exhausted, even with respect to the reprobate exile from His presence! (See your letter of August 19, *supra*, p. 13, 11 lines from the bottom.)



It is no part of my purpose to attempt the superfluous labour of offering a complete argument in support of the orthodox faith. The subject has already been exhausted by many eminent divines. I am merely, from an anxious desire to do you justice (would that I could add in the hope of at least shaking your conviction), pursuing the train of thought suggested by your Essay, as elucidated by your letters, in search of a *sufficient test of your soundness*. But I cannot refrain from alluding to one more group of corroborative proofs. Independently then, of those passages which involve the word *αἰώνιος*, there is another set of passages involving a kindred word, quite as conclusive as to the meaning of our Lord's words in St. Matt. xxv. 46.

The phrase *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*, (varied occasionally into *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων*, and once, Eph. iii. 21, into *εἰς πάσας τὰς γενεὰς τοῦ αἰῶνος τῶν αἰώνων*, also *ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τῷ ἐρχομένῳ*, and *αἰῶνος ἐκείνου*, and *ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι*) is one of frequent occurrence in the New Testament; translated "for ever," "for ever and ever," "in the world to come," and "world without end." I beg leave to submit the following classification of that phrase's meanings.

Out of the *fifty-six* passages in which it occurs:

In *eleven* it is applied to God's personal and eternal existence; viz., in St. John viii. 35; xii. 34; xiv. 16; Hebr. vii. 28; xiii. 8: 1 Peter i. 23: Rev. i. 18; iv. 9; v. 14; x. 6; xv. 7:

In *twenty-six* to God's word, power, glory, reign, to Christ's Priesthood; viz., in St. Matt. vi. 13: St. Luke i. 33: Rom. i. 25; ix. 5; xi. 36; xvi. 27: 2 Cor. xi. 31: Gal. i. 5: Eph. i. 21; iii. 21: Phil. iv. 20: 1 Tim. i. 17: 2 Tim. iv. 18: Hebr. i. 8; v. 6; vi. 20; vii. 17, 21, 24; xiii. 21: 1 Pet. iv. 11; v. 11: Rev. i. 6; v. 13; vii. 12; xi. 15:

In *three* to the next world simply; viz., St. Mark x. 30: St. Luke xviii. 30; xx. 35:

In *ten* to the life and eternal happiness of the just; viz.,

St. John iv. 14; vi. 51, 58; viii. 51, 52; x. 28; xi. 26 :  
2 Cor. ix. 9: 1 John ii. 17: Rev. xxii. 5:

In *six* to the damnation or torment of wicked men and evil spirits; viz., in St. Mark iii. 29: 2 Peter ii. 17: St. Jude verse 13: Rev. xiv. 11; xix. 3 (the great whore); xx. 10.

Here again, then, we have the same phrase applied indifferently, *1st.* to subjects which beyond all question involve the notion of everlasting duration; either in their essence, such as God Himself and His glory; or else according to God's undisputed promise, such as the life of the blessed in the world to come; and *secondly* to two subjects relating to the world to come, viz., to the everlasting torments of Satan and his angels (to the confusion of Origen), and to the hell torments denounced by our Lord in St. Matt. xxv. 41, 46, the never-ending duration of which you permit and encourage thousands of young men to doubt, claiming a right to do so as a part of Christ's Gospel.

In fearful corroboration of the association, in their respective state and in their respective torments, which our Lord has denounced between evil spirits and wicked men in St. Matt. xxv. 41, let me entreat your attention to the parallel passages in Rev. xiv. 9, 10, 11, and Rev. xx. 10.

REV. xiv. 9, 10, 11.

... If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead or in his hand, the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation; and he shall be tormented with *fire and brimstone* in the presence of the holy angels and in the presence of the Lamb: and the smoke of their *torments* ascendeth up *for ever and ever*: and they have no rest *day nor night*, who worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the mark of his name.

REV. xx. 10.

And the devil that deceived them was cast into the lake of *fire and brimstone*, where the beast and the false prophet are, and shall be *tormented day and night for ever and ever*.

I now come to your definition of eternal punishment, still in connection with that same passage, St. Matt. xxv. 46.

I will quote your own words :

“What, then, is death eternal, but to be without God? What is that infinite dread which rises upon my mind, which I cannot banish from me, when I think of my own godlessness and lovelessness,—that I may become wholly separated from love; become wholly immersed in selfishness and hatred? What dread can I have,—ought I to have,—besides this? What other can equal this? Mix up with this, the consideration of days and years and millenniums, you add nothing either to my comfort or my fears. All you do is to withdraw me from the real cause of my misery, which is my separation from the source of life and peace; from the hope which must come to me in one place or another, if I can again believe in God’s love, and cast myself upon it.

“Our Lord speaks of those who would not minister to Him when He was sick and in prison, and naked, as going away into eternal punishment, and then explains the neglect of His brethren to be neglect of Him. The righteous, that is, those who owned Him in the least of them, He says, will go into life eternal. For—we must recur to His own words,—‘this is life eternal, that they may know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom Thou hast sent.’ The eternal life is the perception of His love, the capacity of loving; no greater reward can be attained by any, no higher or diviner security. The eternal punishment is the loss of that power of perceiving His love, the incapacity of loving; no greater damnation can befall any.” (Essays, pp. 437, 438.)

Now this argument is one *ex oppositis*, a method of reasoning not always conclusive or safe, especially in relation to mysteries like that before us; and a method which should be handled with the greatest caution here, when one considers that the two things opposed are not exactly balanced, inasmuch as while “eternal life” is a scriptural phrase, the phrase “eternal death” is not to be found in Scripture. I would not lay too much stress on this fact, because the single word “death” by itself is used in Scripture to denote the future state of the wicked; but the fact is, in itself, significant in an argument about *everlasting* death, and the process of reasoning appears loose and inaccurate. You consider our Lord’s declaration in St. John as a *definition* of eternal life; that is, that it conveys the exact meaning, neither more nor less. You call it “His own definition,” and you add, “I am bound to apply that meaning in both cases, where the word ‘eternal’ is used.” (Supra, p. 6.)

From our Lord's own definition (as you term it) of "eternal life," you *infer* a definition of "eternal death." The inference may be a just one, but it is entirely your own. You have no corresponding passage to vouch for its accuracy; you have not even the phrase "eternal death" to shew in Scripture. And yet from this inference you proceed to draw two other inferences: first, you seem, on the strength of this definition, to shut out from view the place of torment, the bodily torments, "the fire," "the worm," &c.; at least if you do not draw this inference yourself, you allow others to draw it. And secondly, you think that such a definition excludes duration.

Now even on the side of "eternal life" it seems very questionable how far our Lord's words can safely be called a definition; how far we should be justified in supposing that He has excluded every particular which He has not *expressly included*. Upon similar principles of interpretation we should have two other passages likewise entitled to be called definitions, both exclusive, viz., St. John xii. 50, "And I know that His (the Father's) commandment *is* life everlasting:" and 1 St. John v. 20, "This *is* the true God, and everlasting life." When our Lord says that "His (the Father's) commandment *is* life everlasting," He plainly means, that it is the *way* to life everlasting, as He says elsewhere, "If thou wouldest enter into life, keep the commandments" (St. Matt. xix.) He does not exclude what is declared elsewhere to be also life everlasting. And again, in 1 St. John v. 20, it is said that God the Son "is the true God and everlasting\* life," i.e. God in Himself and Life in Himself, but also the source of everlasting life to as many as believe and obey Him. But the words are not exclusive. When St. John says that the Son is "the true God," no one doubts that he does not mean to exclude God the Father and God the Holy Ghost; and when he says that He is "everlasting life," he means plainly, not to *define* everlasting life, but to tell us that He is the Author and Source of it *to us*. Since then neither of these declarations, which are the same in form as that which you quote

\* [Read "eternal." I have to apologize for this clerical error. (Oct. 31.)]

from St. John, can be *definitions* of eternal life, neither can it follow from the force of the words, that that other declaration of our Lord to which you allude is so. The truth is, these several declarations respecting the same subject are parallel to and consistent with each other. All that each such declaration implies, all this and thousands of other particulars now unimagined, would enter into the definition of "eternal life" when complete. But however this may be, though we have on the other side, viz., "eternal punishment," nothing which can be called a definition, we have several awful particulars of torment *revealed*; and out of these elements, together with others hitherto unrevealed, the whole aggregate dread and complete reality will, to all appearance, be compounded.

But secondly, even if we might assume the two descriptions of eternal life and of eternal death respectively to be complete definitions, so far from the other inference following, that duration would be excluded from either, the proof from the passage that both are never-ending would remain just as before. For the natural and obvious translation of St. John would be, "This is endless life, the life which is to last for ever, that they may know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent;" and *ex oppositis*, the inferential definition would be, "This is endless death, the death or punishment which is to last for ever, the loss of that power of perceiving His love, the incapacity of loving." In this form our Lord's words would lose none of their tremendous force, either way, to the meanest understanding; the mystery indeed would remain to *all* unfathomable; but the *meaning* of the word "endless," or "to last for ever," would convey an idea of the deepest practical importance; while any attempt at introducing the idea, to which, as you say, reason bears witness, that "of eternity being generically different from time," would be simply waste of words.

Tried, then, by the most ordinary rules of Scriptural interpretation, this passage on which you so much rely as decisive in your favour, turns out to be utterly beside your purpose. A critical word which you had wholly disregarded, is restored to its full significance; and yet no portion of the

ineffable reality which our Lord's gracious words convey is lost or weakened. Blessed indeed and divine are the glimpses which those words furnish into life eternal. The divine truth which they enunciate should never be absent from our minds and hearts. There can be no doubt, that this knowledge and love of God in Christ will be a constituent part—it hath not entered into the heart of man how infinitely large a constituent part—the very essence indeed, of the future happiness of the just; but then, first, it presupposes existence and consciousness, relative to and commensurate with its enjoyment for ever and ever; the word "life" by itself implies so much, even apart from the word *αἰώνιος*: and 2ndly, it does not exclude many other enjoyments "which God hath prepared for them that love Him;" enjoyments suitable to creatures whose "whole spirit, and soul, and body," shall have been "preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ;" enjoyments owing their intensity doubtless to that which shall pervade and sanctify them all, "the knowledge and love of God, and of His Son Jesus Christ our Lord;" but no more excluded from the notion of the world to come by anything contained in the Scriptures, than analogous delights are from the life of the righteous while still militant here on earth.

And so again conversely, we may grant the probability, that the chief sting of eternal death may be that privation of God's presence and love, that "godlessness and lovelessness, that Devil-nature," which, where it exists, is the sting of life and death in this world. And yet it will not exclude those "other terrors," which you glance at, only to dismiss, as "words or sensible images," (Essays, p. 439,) or, again, as "Mahometan torments," (supra p. 7;) but which the Scripture expressly describes as "smoke of torments," "fire," "fire and brimstone," "the worm," "the lake of fire." And yet, still farther, the intensity of those torments, whatever they may be, moral, mental, and bodily, will be by reason of their endlessness infinitely aggravated in the execution, as they are thereby in the same proportion made by God's own word more effectual in anticipation, as "the terror of the Lord," "knowing which," "we persuade men."

This then is the answer to the question which you put, (in the extract last quoted from your Essay), "What dread can I have—ought I to have—besides the entire separation from love?" : or rather the Scripture supplies the answer : "Fear Him which is able to destroy both soul and *body in hell*." Again to your question "What other can equal this?" human nature suggests the answer, "The dread of duration added to the dread of the misery itself;" the notion (not of measured duration, i.e. time, definite or indefinite, but) of infinite duration, the immortality of the worm, the unquenchableness of the fire, the everlastingness of the punishment, the hopeless and never-ending privation of knowing God's love, the irremediable incapacity of loving. The ordinary instincts of mankind being the judges, *everlasting* misery is not only *equal* to misery taken indefinitely, but far more awful : and the dread of it a more powerful motive to deter from sin, than any purgatory however indefinitely prolonged.

But further, the sense in which you admit eternal death, and your mode of interpreting Scripture, will become still more apparent by continuing the extract from your Essay printed above, p. 40. You seem to feel it necessary to mitigate the impression of severity conveyed in your last-cited words; viz. "No greater damnation can befall any," by reverting once more, upon new grounds, to the hope of ultimate salvation for all, even for those who undergo this "damnation," than which there is none greater; that is, a hope for even wicked, unbelieving, impenitent sinners, when actually lying under our Lord's sentence in St. Matt. xxv. 46. It is clear you are alluding not to the classes enumerated in p. 440, but to those who actually incur eternal death *in your sense of it*.

"And yet, as long as that word 'punishment' is used,—as long as it is represented as the act of a Father,—the heart discovers,—cannot help discovering,—a hope even in this deprivation. Nations,—and our Lord here, if we take His words literally, speaks of Nations,—have undergone that awful sentence of losing all, or almost all, sense of God,—of being given up to devil-worship, and yet they have risen out of it. Even Israel,—the sins of which are heaviest, the exclusion of which has been so awfully an exclusion from spiritual blessings,—from the knowledge of God Himself,—we trust is still only under punishment; will at last be saved." (Essays, p. 438.)

In this passage there are two distinct grounds for hope hinted at; the first the meaning of the word "punishment;" and the second, the analogy of God's dealings with nations.

But any question as to the meaning of the word "punishment" in itself, is wholly irrelevant, when the word "everlasting" is added. There is nothing in the word *κόλασις*, any more than in our word "punishment," to limit its object to "correction." It does not correspond to our word "chastisement;" its force and meaning are determined by the words with which it is joined. The word *αἰώνιος*, unless you can succeed in banishing the meaning of "everlasting" from it, is decisive of the question.

Again, to assume that "everlasting punishment" is represented *as* the act of a Father, that is, that when Almighty God inflicts it, He remains in the relation of a Father to those on whom He inflicts it, is to assume the whole question. Almighty God created the angels who left their first estate and became devils, as well as man. Yet you yourself would surely be shocked, were any one to call Almighty God *now* "the Father of the devil." You would probably not think, that He had prepared hell for the devil and his angels, while retaining towards them that character of Father, which He has by creation towards the works of His hands. It is mentioned as one description of everlasting punishment of the wicked, that they shall be punished with "everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord;" i. e. they shall be for ever cast away from His presence who was their Father. Holy Scripture has not one word to represent the final punishment as the act of a father. Here it is represented as the act of "the Son of Man," when He "shall sit on the throne of His glory." It is a manifestation of that most awful of all mysteries, "the wrath of the Lamb."

As to your second ground, viz. God's dealings with nations, it would seem that in order to prepare the way for the analogy, which is to justify the consolatory suggestion of "the heart," you begin by remarking that "our Lord here, if we take His words literally, speaks of nations." The exact words used by our Saviour are these, "Before Him shall be gathered all nations, and He shall separate them one from



another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats." ver. 32. Is it possible that you infer from hence, that the punishment will be denounced against nations as such? Is it Edom, and Tyre, and Sidon, and Babylon, and Rome, and England, that "He shall separate one from another?" Is it one or more of these nations, *as such*, whom He charges with neglect of Him, with not giving Him meat, not clothing Him, not visiting Him? Is it of *nations* He speaks, when He says, "these shall go into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal?" You say He speaks of nations; and it is essential to your analogy to say so. But surely there is no shadow of ground for such an interpretation; the nature of the case forbids it; in any given nation where Christ is known, there would be some who would neglect Him, some who would relieve Him; the very grammar of the Greek original forbids it, "He shall separate *them* one from another," ἀφοριεῖ αὐτοὺς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. The word αὐτοὺς cannot refer to ἔθνη, it must mean *individuals* out of all nations; the actual assemblage of all nations before the judgment-seat of Christ is what our Lord literally speaks of; and His words imply that *nationality*, as such, will make no difference in the fate of each human being. The analogy itself also is as unsatisfactory as the interpretation which is meant to prepare for it. What real analogy is there between the recovery of abandoned nations in this world to the external profession of true religion, and the forgiveness of a lost soul in the world to come? Shall we be even justified in saying that the passage "And so all Israel shall be saved" includes every individual, who ever lived as a member of that nation?

ii. To proceed; in my letter of July 11 (*supra* p. 11), I said that the result of your speculation upon this subject would be a "kind of purgatory which differs from that of Rome in being more comprehensive and universal in its application."

The two following extracts, not relating to St. Matthew xxv. 46, will make good my assertion, that "this is the inference which presents itself to the reader," and "that it is left without the least attempt to guard against its admissibility."

"It cannot be denied that men are escaping to Rome in search of a purgatory, because they see in that some token that God is merciful to His creatures, that the whole mass of human beings in our streets and alleys, whom we have overlooked and neglected, nineteen hundredths of the population of all the continental countries, most of the American slaves, besides the whole body of Turks, Hindoos, Hottentots, Jews, will not sink for ever, in a short time, into hopeless destruction, from which a few persons, some of whom are living comfortably, eating their dinners and riding in their carriages without any vexation of heart, may, by special mercy, be delivered. They say this is the meaning of what they have been told in the land where a Gospel is said to be preached, where Bibles are distributed in every village. They say that a Church which gives them a hope that this is not so, that the three-score years and ten do not absolutely limit the compassion of the Father of Spirits, must be better than the one in which they have been bred. Oh! that such words should be spoken, and should be believed; that we should be supposed to have gained nothing by three centuries of emancipation from the yoke of Rome but the loss of faith and hope in God,—but a more assured perdition, a more utter despair! Let us hasten to wipe off this foul disgrace, to shew in deed and in truth that it does not belong to us. We have renounced, indeed, all notion of defining the limits of purgatory. We know that in the strictest sense this world is a purgatory, that there are fires here for burning up the dross and refining the pure ore. We have renounced the blasphemous notion of paying so much to God for bringing souls out of the condition which belongs to them. We have not instituted prayers for the dead, for Christ has said, that God is not the God of the dead, but of the living, since all live to Him. We have rejected idle fancies about places where spirits may be dwelling; for what do we know of them, or what have they to do with us and with those we love? But how dare we define God? How dare we say that Christ is not the Lord of both worlds? How can we check the Spirit of Love, who bids us pray 'for all men,' or tell Him that the prayers must be limited by barriers of space and time, which Christ has broken down? And into what blasphemy does this notion lead us? We poor selfish, miserable creatures, desire the salvation and well-being of this and that fellow creature, of Jews, Turks, infidels, heretics; so we are more loving than the God of Love! We are desiring a good for man, which He does not desire." (Essays, pp. 439—441.)

The Church of Rome has doubtless much to answer for in respect of that "fond thing, vainly invented," her doctrine of purgatory. But I submit, that she is not so bad as she is here represented. She holds out no hope of ultimate salvation to wicked, unbelieving, and impenitent sinners. *For such* she believes in a hell, and in its everlasting torments, as firmly as the Church of England does. Purgatory, accord-

ing to her system, in itself sufficiently indefensible, is for imperfect Christians, for those who die in what she considers a state of grace. It is not intended for those who have been cut off from grace. Any Romanist would repel with horror the imputation that his system of purgatory nullifies our Lord's sentence of everlasting punishment, or that the word "eternal" does not imply endless duration. So that the men who "are escaping to Rome in search of a purgatory" to suit their views, may find themselves disappointed. I believe the two Churches in this point to be equally orthodox, equally resting on Scripture, and on the witness of the early Church. You think that the contrast between the Churches is much to our disadvantage, that there is "a foul disgrace" upon us, which we should "hasten to wipe off, and to shew in deed and in truth that it does not belong to us:" that is, that we, in common with the Church of Rome (though she does no such thing with respect to reprobates) "give a hope that the threescore years and ten do not absolutely limit the compassion of the Father of spirits"—and the way to wipe off this well-deserved reproach and to stop this fatal drain from the Church of England towards that of Rome, is (so you seem to argue) to invent a purgatory of our own, a purgatory (if I follow your train of thought correctly) analogous to that which is already in action during this life. We must abstain, indeed, from defining its limits; from paying for masses; from praying for the dead; from all idle fancies of Hades: but we may, consistently with the principles of our Church, believe in a purgatory, which [more tolerant than that of Rome] shall hold out a hope [which Rome does not hold out], not only to Turks, Hindoos, and the other classes above enumerated, but also to the baptized man, who, in spite of his privileges, is found at the day of his death an apostate, a blasphemer against the Holy Ghost, one sunk in all abominable vices, the tempter and destroyer of his brethren, in short a very devil! If we do not do all this, we "dare to define God;" we say that "Christ is not the Lord of both worlds," we "check the Spirit of love!" And thus by offering as easy terms to the *reprobate* as the Roman Catholics do [*to imperfect Christians*]

we shall check that Romeward tide; we shall, moreover, win to Christianity those who have been scared into infidelity by the doctrine hitherto erroneously (as you would say) imputed to the Church of England, the doctrine of the everlasting punishment of the wicked!

If this paraphrase does not convey the meaning of the above extract, no one will rejoice in your disavowal of it more sincerely than myself. But after repeated perusals I must own, that these appear to be the natural inferences from your language; indeed that it is difficult to see what else it can mean.

My limits compel me to pass over with a very slight notice, though not without an expression of extreme surprise, some collateral points in this remarkable passage; such as the singular application of the verse, "God is not the God of the dead but of the living"—and again, the reproach about our using the last collect for Good Friday. It really is surprizing to be told, that the only way of using that prayer without blasphemy is to suppose that the God of love to whom we are praying will not carry into execution His own threat of everlasting punishment against impenitent sinners!

With one more extract, partly involving, like the last, a sort of purgatory, we may bring these painful quotations to a close.

"We do not want theories of universalism; they are as cold, hard, unsatisfactory as all other theories. But we want that clear, broad assertion of the divine charity, which the Bible makes, and which carries us immeasurably beyond all that we can ask or think. What dreams of ours can reach to the assertion of St. John, that Death and Hell themselves shall be cast into the lake of fire? I cannot fathom the meaning of such expressions. But they are written; I accept them, and give thanks for them. I feel there is an abyss of death into which I may sink and be lost. Christ's Gospel reveals an abyss of love, below that; I am content to be lost in that. I know no more, but I am sure that there is a woe on us if we do not preach this Gospel, if we do not proclaim the name of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit,—the Eternal Charity. Whenever we do proclaim that name, I believe we invade the realm of night and of eternal death, and open the kingdom of heaven."—[Essays, pp. 442—443.]

In the first part of this passage there is evidently a distinction sought to be drawn between "theories of Universalism," and such a "clear, broad assertion of the Divine Charity," as may encourage the hope of ultimate salvation for all. That this is the meaning, the whole tenor of the Essay, as well as the immediate context, persuades me. The context is an assertion of the divine love, such as no other part of the Essay can match. "I feel that there is an abyss of death into which I may sink and be *lost*. Christ's Gospel reveals an abyss of love below that; I am content to be *lost* in that." I pass by the singular play upon the word "*lost*" in such a context; but can any one mistake your meaning? Do you not plainly assert, that *any Christian*, after the full enjoyment of a Christian's privileges, (and therefore not one of those who have never heard of, never yet "apprehended Christ as their justifier, and God as their Father," p. 442,) may fall away and be lost in hell, [most true assertion]; but that it is an essential part of Christ's Gospel to believe and preach, that there is "an abyss of love" still lower than the "abyss of death;" in other words, that such an one may pass through the depths of hell and yet find God's mercy ready to receive him at last? If *this* is the Gospel, Christ's Church has not known or received it, for the Church holds, that "they that have done evil shall go into everlasting fire." And yet you say that Christ's Gospel reveals this "abyss of love." I find nothing throughout Christ's Gospel which can possibly be so construed. But the passage apparently in your thoughts is the one which you have just before quoted, and which seems to have suggested the imagery of the revelation you speak of; but which is singularly inappropriate to your purpose; viz., "the assertion of St. John, that death and hell themselves shall be cast into the lake of fire." Let me quote the Apostle's very words (Rev. xx. 13,-15) ". . . and death and hell (*Hades*) delivered up the dead which were in them: and they were judged every man (*ἕκαστος*) according to their works. And death and hell (*Hades*) were cast into the lake of fire. This is *the second death*, and whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of

fire." From these words you would, as it seems, infer, that *Gehenna*, the place of torment, shall be destroyed in the lake of fire. It has been generally thought that *Gehenna* itself is the lake of fire, and that death and Hades are pictured as two beings who, since Adam's fall, have preyed upon the whole race of man, and that there shall be no more death for those not sentenced to the second death; but any how, is there a single word in the passage to justify your "abyss of love?" We may indeed and must feel convinced, that the perpetuity of hell torments is in some way perfectly consistent with God's love *as it is*, not *as you represent it*. But in your own sense of Divine love, where does St. John hint at an abyss of it, "below" the abyss of death? The last verse, however, of this chapter xx. absolutely contradicts your assertion; for it is into this same lake of fire that the very persons for whose ultimate salvation you entertain a hope, are cast. How awfully does this meaning manifest itself, when the general fact announced in chap. xx. verse 15 is expanded in chap. xxi. 8; "And the fearful, and the unbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is *the second death!*"

Before I conclude, I must say a few words on that which is the key of the whole system, the assumed incompatibility of everlasting punishment with the infinite love of God; added to the assumption that, because God "*will* have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth," therefore His will is to be irresistibly put forth (*if not here, hereafter*) irrespectively of man's Free-will exerted during his state of probation; in short, the old assumption under a new aspect, respecting the irreconcilableness of Divine Grace with Free-will. It is quite in accordance with what might have been expected beforehand, that human reason should not be able to reconcile two things, each of which is distinctly revealed. Revelation abounds with such *seeming* incompatibilities, and every one of them may become a stumbling-block to the natural man. It is faith alone which, by God's grace, en-

ables us to reconcile them. It is the very essence of *heresy* not to accept both of such seemingly incompatible truths together, to *choose* one and reject the other; to dwell exclusively on *half* the truth, and to deny the other *half* or explain it away. I need not remind you of instances. Yet this is the very thing which your followers with your sanction, nay at your suggestion, appear to do. Because the infinite love of God in Christ is a truth of inestimable value, everlasting punishment is, on the Universalist theory, not everlasting; though eternity is predicated of it in Scripture, one is "not obliged to put that sense upon it in reference to punishment or death, which makes it incompatible with the revelation of God's love to mankind in Christ." I quote the very words used by you to "persons who laid their doubts before" you, (*supra*, p. 15.) On this subject the Universalist speaks with a degree of decision and positiveness, which could only be justified, if he really understood the nature and extent of God's infinite love. What a contrast does this peremptory way of settling the mystery present to the golden words of Bp. Butler! "PERHAPS DIVINE GOODNESS, WITH WHICH, IF I MISTAKE NOT, WE MAKE VERY FREE IN OUR SPECULATIONS, MAY NOT BE A BARE SINGLE DISPOSITION TO PRODUCE HAPPINESS; BUT A DISPOSITION TO MAKE THE GOOD, THE FAITHFUL, THE HONEST MAN HAPPY."

One point remains. You seem to rely with much confidence upon the fact, first that there is no dogmatic statement on the subject of the duration of future punishments put forth by our Reformers in the present Articles of the Church of England, even, as you express it, "in so complete a compendium as that;" secondly, that "our reformers, having introduced an Article upon it into the forty-two which were originally drawn up in 1552 for the use of the English Church, omitted that Article in the thirty-nine," i. e. in the two subsequent editions of 1562, and 1571. (*Essays*, p. 433.) From this you would infer, that it is an open question. No argument, on whichever of these grounds it rests, can be more precarious.

For 1st. as to the *absence, per se*, of any dogmatic state-

ment on the subject from "so complete a compendium," it proves nothing. No one is more deeply convinced than I am of the value of that great legacy of our Reformers; it was indeed complete *for its purpose*, but it makes no pretensions to be complete altogether. There are several other Theological truths, which are also omitted, because there was no occasion to speak of them. The compendium, for instance, contains no assertion\* of the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures; nor is there any allusion in the present text of the Articles† to the general resurrection of all men with their bodies at Christ's coming: yet you would not call *those* open questions; you would not say that a Theological Professor who disputes either of those truths can be safely trusted to teach the Students in the Theological department of King's College.

2ndly. As to the *disappearance* of the 42nd Article from the subsequent editions, the argument you draw from it is equally illusory. Considering the scantiness of the direct historical records which have come down to us respecting the compilation and modification of the Articles, it is impossible, in the absence of collateral evidence, to infer the *motives* for any alteration, from the bare *fact*: and no assumption could be more unfounded than that, because the Article on this subject was removed, the compilers intended to make the doctrine of the eternity of future punishments an open question. For on the very first inspection of Dr. Lamb's Facsimile of the copy of the forty-two Articles of

\* [At least in direct terms *eo nomine*. It is implied, beyond all doubt, in such expressions as "the word of God:" and it is a formal article in the Nicene Creed accepted in Art. VIII. But the real fact is, that, as the XXXIX. Articles were intended for the use of Christians, this fundamental tenet was taken for granted. (Oct. 31.)]

† [I need not say, that it is *virtually* in the XXXIX. Articles, inasmuch as the VIIIth Article unreservedly accepts the three Creeds, in all of which it is formally stated. Mr. Maurice thinks this particular instance "remarkably inappropriate." To me it seems a case quite in point. The everlasting punishment of the wicked is not asserted in the XXXIX. Articles, but it is in the Athanasian Creed; in like manner as the resurrection of all men with their bodies is not in the XXXIX. Articles, but it is in the three Creeds. (Oct. 31.)]



1552, as prepared by Archbishop Parker for the synod of 1562, it will be apparent, that other more or less important Articles, or parts of Articles, were in like manner removed, we are not told for what reason ; such for instance, as the original 10th Article, “ De gratia,” and the 39th, “ Resurrectio mortuorum nondum est facta :” and yet the truths therein respectively asserted are incontrovertible, and any Principal of King’s College, who should permit them to be denied by a Theological Professor, would be *ipso facto* unfit for his office.

But further : it seems to have escaped you, that the 42nd Article did not stand alone, but was part of a group of Articles directed against Fanatics of *that time*, and, as appears, against one class of Anabaptists. It may be worth while to give the English text of the four Articles to which I allude :

#### ART. XXXIX.

*The resurrection of the dead is not yet brought to pass.*

The resurrection of the dead is not as yet brought to pass, as though it only belonged to the soul, which by the grace of Christ is raised from the death of sin, but it is to be looked for at the last day : for then, (as Scripture doth most manifestly testify,) to all that be dead, *their own bodies*, flesh and bones, shall *be restored*, that the whole man may (according to his works) have either reward or punishment, as he hath lived virtuously or wickedly.

#### ART. XL.

*The souls of them that depart this life do neither die with the bodies, nor sleep idly.*

They which say, that the souls of such as depart hence do sleep, being without all sense, feeling, or perceiving, until the day of judgment, or affirm that the souls die with the bodies, and at the last day shall be raised up with the same, do utterly dissent from the right belief declared to us in Holy Scripture.

## ART. XLI.

*Heretics called Millenarii.*

They that *go about* to renew the faith of Heretics, called Millenarii, be repugnant to Holy Scripture, and cast themselves headlong into a *Jewish dotage*.

## ART. XLII.

*All men shall not be saved at the length.*

They *also* are worthy of condemnation, who *endeavour at this time* to restore the dangerous opinion, that all men, be they never so ungodly, shall at length be saved, when they have suffered pain for their sins a certain time appointed by God's justice.

You will observe, that the grammatical form in these Articles shews that the compilers are engaged in condemning certain doctrines *then* taught; Art. 40, "they which *say* (*Qui prædicant*)" &c.; Art. 41, "they that *go about* to renew (*qui conantur*)" &c.; Art. 42, "they *also* that endeavour *at this time* to restore (*qui conantur hodie*)," &c.

Now if you will turn to Walch (*Religions—Streitigkeiten ausser der Lutherischen Kirche*, vol. iv. p. 737) you will find that he mentions amongst Anabaptist errors, from which the Mennonites, though a branch of the Anabaptists, were free, "That in the resurrection we shall not *receive the same body* which we had before in this life, and that *the punishment of hell would not be eternal*;" and again (p. 741), that certain Mennonites, though not all, held "that the soul after death until the day of judgment sleeps, and feels neither joy nor torment."

It is notorious, moreover, that the Anabaptists of Germany held the doctrine of a millennium, which could not but be tainted with the atrocious abominations which they habitually committed.

So then we find that the tenets condemned in Art. 40. "the sleep of the soul," in Art. 41. the millennarian fanaticism, and

in Art. 42. "Hell torments not being eternal," (not to mention an allusion also to a *part* of the errors implied in Art. 39.) were all three Anabaptist errors that were taught at that time. At that time (1552) the atrocities and blasphemies of Munster, which had threatened to dissolve all human society, were fresh in men's minds; there was no saying how widely those principles might in secret be spreading, or how soon there might be a fresh outburst of those satanic devices. Wisely, then, *at that time* were those three Articles inserted. But at a *later period*, when the Marian persecutions had obliterated the memory of more remote evils, and particularly when it appeared that the errors which had been held only by certain Anabaptists, were avoided by others, as they were thrown off by the body ultimately, these same three Articles were no less wisely left out, as unnecessary *for those times*, and as inexpedient from the danger of their *suggesting* the very errors which they were designed to condemn.

It is observable also, that Walch mentions (vol. iv. p. 471) as an important error held by some Mennonites, that "they do away with or make light of original sin, and think that man has after the fall so much strength, that he can convert himself." It may appear a slight circumstance, but it affords a curious collateral confirmation of the view taken above, that in the 8th Article of the edition of 1552, "on Original sin," the words run thus, "Original sin standeth not in the following of Adam, as the Pelagians do vainly talk, *which also the Anabaptists do now-a-days renew (hodie repetunt)*," &c.: but the words in italics were left out in the corresponding Art. (the 9th) of the *two subsequent editions*, and this apparently for the same reason which led to the removal of the three last Articles of the Forty-two; viz., that the Anabaptists had by that time ceased to be of any prominent importance in England.

But this is not all. The account here given of these Articles receives an external illustration from the analogous course adopted by the Lutherans. The Confession of Augsburg, which the framers of our Articles had before them, adopting in part its very words, expressly condemns the Anabaptists

for teaching "that there would be an end of the punishment of the damned and of devils" (Art. 17. "Damnant Anabaptistas, qui sentiunt hominibus damnatis ac diabolis finem pœnarum futurum esse"). In the Augsburg Confession as printed under Melancthon at Wittemberg in 1540, these words were changed into "Damnamus et *Origenistas*, qui finxerunt diabolis et damnatis finem pœnarum futurum esse!" And in the same Article they condemn others who were at that particular time spreading *Jewish opinions* of a millenary kingdom before the resurrection ("Damnant et alios, qui *nunc spargunt* Judaicas opiniones, quod, ante resurrectionem mortuorum, pii regnum mundi occupaturi sint, ubique oppressis impiis").

But the "Formula Concordiæ," settled in 1577, (which Guericke describes as "the keystone of the symbolical books of the Lutheran Church,") enumerates divers errors of the Anabaptists, as intolerable in the Church, in the Civil Polity, and in society: it even mentions the denial of the whole doctrine of original sin; but it does not mention either of these errors. What solution then more obvious, than that of the seventy sects of Anabaptists, whom the writers on this subject enumerate, that section which held these errors, had dwindled away in England and elsewhere before the time of our present Articles? The Confession of Augsburg (1530) and the forty-two Articles (of 1552) condemn these errors; our Articles of 1562, and 1571, and the Formula Concordiæ in 1577 omit them. There is no indication whatever of any change in belief, either in the English Church or amongst the Lutherans: but the contrary. Bishop Jewel, for instance, who had a considerable share in the Articles of 1562, and was the sole responsible editor of those revised in 1571, expresses himself very strongly against Origen's error, and it is well known that the Formula Concordiæ emanated from the stricter Lutherans:—and yet they alike omit the mention of these errors. It is known, on the other hand, that the doctrines, which some "were endeavouring to restore" in 1552, were held only by a portion of the Anabaptists, who were more and more splitting up into sub-sections. Even, then, if we had not the Athanasian Creed,

it would be entirely gratuitous to make any other inference than that the sect had become too insignificant to be noticed. The Articles were framed “*ad tollendam opinionum dissensionem, et consensum in verâ religione firmandum.*” If, then, this “dangerous opinion” no longer prevailed in that sect, there was no longer any ground for the three Articles, even on the declared ground of the Articles themselves; it was a point of wisdom to let the “dangerous opinions” drop into oblivion. From the facts now stated, this is the natural inference; but since we have the Athanasian Creed, any other inference from the omission is plainly out of the question.

The fact is, that the compilers of our Articles presupposed the existence and acceptance of the three Creeds, which they expressly adopted in Art. 8, on the true ground, i.e. the fact that “they may be proved by most certain warrant of Holy Scripture.” It might be expedient to meet a particular heresy, just then emerging, by inserting a special Article, but, that temporary necessity having passed away, it was clearly superfluous to *repeat* in the thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England all that was already defined in the received formularies of the whole Church. And so the everlasting duration of future punishments, though no longer formally stated in the Articles, remains, like the truth respecting the general resurrection of all men with their bodies (the Article about which was also removed, viz. the 39th,) a doctrine of the Church of England, and upon the same ground; viz., because both these tenets are alike asserted as Scriptural truths in the Athanasian Creed, which forms part of the devotions of the Church. Truth thus sinks more deeply into the hearts of the people, than by its merely being embodied in the Articles, which few care to examine.

And now, with this evidence before me, I am satisfied that I did you no injustice in my letter of July 8. Still more striking evidence to the same effect might be derived from a review of our late correspondence; but it is with your published opinions that I am concerned, and it would be ungenerous to turn against you in laboured detail the weapons which your candour and fearless honesty have placed in my hands.

I have used your letters, where I have referred to them, not so much in aggravation as in illustration of your "Theological Essays." But I must not shrink from avowing that, if a careful examination of the "Essays" had left any doubts on my mind, your letters would have removed them.

And now, supposing the fact of your error to be established, let me observe that this is not a merely speculative question in the higher regions of abstract Theology, but a tenet which must involve practical consequences to the humblest and youngest Christian. For surely it is no light or indifferent thing to *unsettle* men's minds, even as to the received meaning of a Scriptural word. It can engender little less than a general spirit of scepticism to be told in the nineteenth century, that an important word has been misunderstood by a whole people for nearly 400 years, that an individual has discovered a new meaning of it, hidden from our fathers. The infidel again may say with seeming justice, If a Professor of Theology may deny the everlasting duration of punishment, I may deny everlasting life. But it is chiefly in education and in the daily concerns of life, that danger is to be apprehended. It is surely worse than useless to teach a child that, when he prays that God would deliver him from evil, he prays that his heavenly Father would keep him from "everlasting death;" to teach him to pray in the Litany that his good Lord would deliver him from "everlasting damnation;" to teach him to sum up the Catholic faith with the confession that "they that have done evil shall go into everlasting fire;" it is a mockery and a snare to teach him all this, if you neutralize each particular by telling him, that "death," "damnation," "fire," may after all come to an end. Better at once to expunge such words from our Formularies, than to allow a child to say one thing, and believe another.

Further; the relaxation of the penalty will assuredly give a fresh impulse to sin and crime. Men, *as it is*, with the trammels of the old-fashioned faith still upon them, find it difficult enough to resist temptation, not only to ordinary sin, but to great and inhuman crimes. Yet it cannot be

doubted, that many a one who dies in the Lord will primarily have owed his salvation to a fear of the Divine sanctions of religion, which God's power and grace have impressed upon his mind. The fear of hell has, by God's grace, turned him from sin, and opened his eyes to the joys of heaven. But the men who shall have learnt about "an abyss of love," men nominally Christians, perhaps reconciled to Christianity by this very relaxation, will feel themselves enabled to commit any species of wickedness, and yet hope for heaven at last. It will be with sin, as it is with so many other things in this day, a question of profit and loss; so much present intense sensual enjoyment, so much revenge, the gains of this robbery, the hatred glutted by that murder, *on the one side*, all present profit, palpable, as it were, to sense: *on the other*, the dim prospect of a futurity which, with or without bodily torment, will consist chiefly in the "being without God," "being wholly separated from love, becoming wholly immersed in selfishness and hatred," "the vision of being left alone;" and yet, through the dark vista of these "eternal" horrors, the hope of ultimate salvation beams upon the lost sinner; there is an "abyss of love" below the "abyss of death:" he may be "content to be lost in that." To men of tender consciences and refined minds, such expressions as these may have a very real and awful meaning; but to a wretch who has cast off the faith of Christ, or holds it only in name, who knows nothing of God or love, who thinks "selfishness and hatred" very natural and pleasurable things, what will words like these weigh in the balance, against the enjoyment of the hour?

And if such a relaxation of the Divine sanctions of religion should by any means be generally spread amongst our people, if any number, however small, of our Clergy, whether educated at King's College or elsewhere, should be found to "teach men so," can you or I calculate the consequences? Can we stop there? If we admit authoritatively, or even tacitly, into our parishes, one of the Anabaptist errors of the sixteenth century, are we quite sure that we shall be able to forbid the entrance of the whole Legion?

You will not suppose that I accuse you of contemplating these results. What I do accuse you of is, that you promulgate

a view which is sure to lead to those results, without taking them into your calculation. In your anxiety to relieve one class of infidels from speculative difficulties, you forget the practical dangers to which you expose another; in taking up a stumbling-block which God in His infinite mercy has placed as a hindrance to those who would commit sin, you cast down another in the way of those who are still more blinded in practical unbelief.

That there are writers in this day who go much farther than you do: that you decline to dogmatize upon the side of Universal Restitution; that you desire no theories of Universalism\*; that you do not want to make men doubt of eternal death (in your sense of it); that you "felt no wish to moot the subject" apart from persons who applied to you; that you had rather rest in a general assertion of God's infinite love, and in all that, according to your view of it, is involved therein; that you have very rarely indeed alluded to the differences which exist between you and some of your brethren on the subject of eternal death; that you would rather have avoided, if you could, the general publication of your solution, reserving it for those who are in anguish on the subject, all this I can readily believe. But it is no less clear to me on the other hand, that in your Essays and in your private teaching you tolerate, nay, encourage in others, (whoever may apply to you,) a tenet which is tantamount to Universalism; that you have invented a new method for reconciling (as you think) "eternal punishment," which is not eternal, with what you describe as "the revelation of God's love to mankind in Christ;" that, having this conviction, you thought yourself more "bound as a theological teacher to proclaim it than an-

\* [I might have added here the words: "that you are not yourself a Universalist." Mr. Maurice has assured me that he is not a Universalist, and of course I unreservedly believe this. But then, it is not for me to explain how one who repudiates the name and the theory of Universalism for his own person, can think it lawful to permit, nay to encourage others, "thousands of young Englishmen," to hold the doctrine, that there is hope revealed in Scripture of ultimate salvation for all, even for wicked, unbelieving, and impenitent sinners. (*Oct. 31.*)]



other person could be" (*supra*, p. 16) ; and that *in that capacity* your words are much more weighty than those of others, and you may, unwittingly no doubt, be made *an instrument for diffusing the tenet, in an unsuspected form, through many a parish in a few years*. And it is this which gives so much terrible significance, especially within King's College, to your book.

For let me enquire, in all kindness, whether the effects of your Essays *can* be confined to those whose "anguish" on this subject it has been your self-imposed task to relieve? whether there is not another class of young men, who must be, above all others, influenced by a Theological Teacher, whom they have so much reason to love and respect\*? whether there is not a duty incumbent upon a Theological Professor, above and beyond every other line of duty, to abstain from shaking the faith of those committed by Divine Providence to his care? whether, even, it would not have been well, *before* you published that Essay, to have regained by a spontaneous resignation that natural and unrestricted liberty of action which every office of trust, to a certain extent, and by tacit compact restrains? These are painful questions; but they are necessary, because they touch the very root of the matter, as between the College and yourself. True, your Essays are not *addressed* to the Theological Students of King's College; but they are addressed as *Theological* Essays to the public by a writer, whose title-page bears, that he is a Professor of Divinity in King's College, London. Is it credible that those most acquainted with your ordinary teaching, would be the last to read so attractive a work as this? And if they do read it, the best result that can be hoped for, is that they will not understand the view; but, supposing they do understand it, will they or will they not adopt it? wholly or partially? with or without misgivings? You cannot answer these questions any more than I can. But one thing is certain. Supposing any of our Students to become agitated, and "driven to infidelity" by

\* [In what degree the apprehensions here expressed were well, or ill founded, will be seen by Mr. Maurice's own observations on this part of my final letter. (Answer, p. 27.) (Oct. 31.)]

doubts (perhaps suggested by your Essay), you cannot ensure them against a feeling of "anguish;" and in case they should apply to you for relief, you are bound according to your own avowal to afford it. "If," you say, "I had thought I should have done them," the Theological Students, "good by speaking upon this subject, I hope I should not have been silent," (*supra*, p. 15) and (then, when the mischief was done) you would have told me "why you could not be silent," (*ibid.*) And the Principal of the College in the mean time, with these facts before him, is to fold his hands, and, for the sake of peace, is to let such things take their course, and by suffering teaching like this to go on without remonstrance, to become an abettor of grievous error, indeed, *particeps criminis* himself!

The Principal at present in office, however, God helping him, will not so betray his trust. There are, as you well know, more than ordinary motives to keep him to his duty; motives, against which he must not allow his own intense suffering, or the love of quiet, or private regard towards the Professor inculpated, or even official appreciation of his past services to the college, to have any weight whatever. The College entrusted to his charge has during seven years enjoyed the utmost confidence on the part of the episcopal body. A privilege, for which there is no precedent in our Church, has been accorded to King's College, viz., that of founding, with the full sanction of all the Bishops, a Theological Department, with the understanding that twenty-six Bishops will accept the certificate of the Principal, presented by a candidate for holy orders, in lieu of a University degree. A College so trusted and so privileged must not permit its orthodoxy to be even suspected. But if it should on any account, directly or indirectly, tacitly, or by overt act, give its "imprimatur" to any "erroneous and strange doctrine, contrary to God's word," it will not only fall suddenly into deserved contempt and ruin, but it will be, so long as it is permitted to last, a curse instead of a blessing to the Church which it was intended to serve.

In conclusion, let me express the hope, that this corre-

spondence, while still confined to ourselves, may not have been in vain. Those portions of this letter, indeed, which I have sent you, have elicited as yet nothing which can encourage hope. But I would still entreat your unbiassed attention to the letter, now that it reaches you entire. Let me beseech you, *if possible*, to prove to me that I have mistaken your meaning; to disavow explicitly the meaning attached to your words; to clear up the ambiguities of language, which, to say the least, have necessitated such an interpretation; or, if indeed you cannot disavow or explain any thing, to pause even now, before you irretrievably commit yourself to the perilous course of weakening the divine sanctions of religion, and to repair in some way the serious consequences which your final Essay is likely to produce.

If this, my last appeal, should prove ineffectual, the ultimate decision must pass into other hands than mine.

I remain, my dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

R. W. JELF, D.D.,

PRINCIPAL.

TO THE REV. PROFESSOR MAURICE.

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*By the same Author.*

**AN INQUIRY INTO THE MEANS OF GRACE**, their  
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